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# A Short Introduction to The Literature of the Old Testament

BY

THE REV. G. H. BOX, M.A., D.D.

HON. CANON OF ST. ALBANS;
PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS
AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; AND RECTOR OF SUTTON, BEDFORDSHIRE

*THIRD EDITION*
REVISED AND ENLARGED
*FOURTH IMPRESSION*

RIVINGTONS
34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*
LONDON
1924

Printed in Great Britain by T. and A. CONSTABLE LTD.
at the University Press, Edinburgh

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# PREFACE

THE present volume has been written with the needs of beginners constantly in view, and will, it is hoped, prove of service as a preparation for the study of larger works. It is intended to be used in conjunction with another volume in the present series—that by Canon R. L. Ottley on *The Hebrew Prophets*. Small bibliographies, in which the most practically useful books are set down, have been appended to the chapter—and section—headings. No attempt, of course, has been made to render these selections in any sense exhaustive. The student who wishes to pursue the subject further will naturally have recourse to such aids as Dr. Driver's well-known *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, which may sometimes be usefully supplemented by Cornill's contribution to the same subject, now accessible to English readers in an English dress under the title *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* (Williams and Norgate, 1907.). *December* 1908.

In the present reissue the opportunity has been taken to revise the volume throughout, especially by adding items to the lists of selected literature. An Appendix has also been added which deals with some points in which it seemed desirable to indicate briefly the movements of recent criticism. In this way it is hoped that the book, without being substantially changed, will be brought more up to date. *September* 1923.

G. H. BOX.

Since the above was written there has appeared the English edition of Professor E. Sellin's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, furnished with an Introduction and Bibliography by Prof. A. S. Peake (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1923). This is a most welcome and valuable addition to the department of Old Testament Introduction, and can be used with great profit as a supplement to other larger works. It is thoroughly up to date.

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## ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

*L.O.T.* = Literature of the Old Testament.

*S.B.O.T.* = Sacred Books of the Old Testament (a series of Critical Hebrew Texts of the different Hebrew Books, edited by Paul Haupt; a corresponding series of English translations has been issued by the same editor).

*I.C.C.* = International Critical Commentaries (a series of Commentaries published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh).

*J.Q.R.* = Jewish Quarterly Review

# INTRODUCTION

## *PART I.—GENERAL INTRODUCTION*

## CHAPTER I

### THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GENERAL

THE title 'Old Testament' is, of course, a Christian one, and is derived from II. Cor. iii. 14, where it is applied to the sacred books or Scriptures generally which were accepted by the Jews as Holy Scripture.[1] The title is rendered more correctly in the Revised Version *the old covenant* (ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη), and is a descriptive designation applied to such books 'because in them the conditions and principles of the older covenant were recorded.'[2] The Jews employ different designations which will be referred to below.

**Division of the Old Testament Canon.**—As is well known, the Palestinian Jews divided the Canon of the Old Testament into three parts: (1) *the Law* (Heb. *tôrā*), (2) *the Prophets* (Heb. *nĕbî'îm*), and (3) *the Writings* = 'Hagiographa' (Heb. *kĕthûbîm*). This threefold division is of great importance as it corresponds to three well-defined stages by which the sacred collection came into existence. The Alexandrine Jews, on the other hand, acknowledged a canonical collection in which the books were arranged in a different order, and other books, not recognised by the Palestinians, were included (= the so-called 'Apocrypha').[3] No trace exists among the Alexandrines of the

[1] S. Paul, in the context (II. Cor. iii. 15), refers specifically to the Pentateuch. His Bible would probably be the Alexandrine rather than the Palestinian canonical collection.

[2] Grimm-Thayer, *Lex.*, s.v. διαθήκη, p. 137. Under the influence of Heb. ix. 16 the Vulgate always renders διαθήκη, *testamentum*.

[3] For the Alexandrine Canon, see Cornill, *Introd. to Can. Books of O.T.* (E.T.), pp. 485 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of O.T.* (E.T.), pp. 43 ff.

threefold division which is so important a feature in the Palestinian Canon. The Palestinian arrangement, however, was ultimately accepted by all Jews, and is the one followed in our modern Hebrew Bibles, which reflect the usage embodied in Hebrew MSS.[1]

The first division of the Hebrew Canon, the *tôrā*, consists of the 'five books of Moses,' which make up the Pentateuch. The latter term is derived from the Greek ἡ πεντάτευχος, sc. βίβλος, which corresponds to the technical Hebrew designation *ḥamishshē ḥumshê tôrā*, *i.e.* 'the five-fifths of the Law.' The five books of the *Tôrā* are usually referred to in Jewish writings by the first word (or one of the first words) of the Hebrew text of the books.

Thus Genesis = בְּרֵאשִׁית, Exodus וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, Leviticus וַיִּקְרָא, Numbers בְּמִדְבַּר (the fifth word: Jerome, however, cites it as *Vaiedabber* = וַיְדַבֵּר which is the actual first word), and Deuteronomy וְאֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים.

More general designations may, however, have been employed occasionally. One such occurs in the case of Leviticus, which is described sometimes under the title 'the law of priests' (Heb. *tôrath kōhănîm*).

The second division, consisting of the 'Prophets,' is subdivided into two parts, 'the former prophets' (Heb. *nebî'îm rîshōnîm*) and 'the latter prophets' (Heb. *nĕbî'îm 'aḥărônîm*). Under 'the former prophets' are reckoned the four historical books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings (the two last counted as each a single book). The prophetic books proper are grouped under the 'latter prophets,' and include Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, together with 'the Twelve' (Heb. *shĕnêm 'āsār*: Gk. τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον), *i.e.* the twelve minor prophets, which in the Hebrew Canon are reckoned as a single book: total, eight books.

The at first sight surprising fact that the four historical books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, are included among the 'prophets'

[1] The Hebrew Scriptures, consisting of these three divisions, are designated by the abbreviation ת"נך, *i.e.* תורה נביאים וכתובים.

demands some explanation. According to Jewish tradition both Judges and Samuel were written by the prophet Samuel, and Kings by the prophet Jeremiah. The prophetic character of Joshua was guaranteed by Numb. xxvii. 18 ('a man in whom is the spirit'), and explicitly asserted by Ben Sira (Ecclus. xlvi. 1: 'Joshua . . . successor of Moses in *prophecies*'). The tradition has, of course, no *direct* historical value. But indirectly it, perhaps, reflects the feeling which operated in the first instance to bring these books into the prophetic collection, the feeling, viz., that they are dominated by the prophetic spirit, and largely represent the prophetic point of view. As a matter of fact, the editors who were responsible for their present form belonged to the prophetic school which was so influential in the Deuteronomic reform. The division of the collection into 'former' and 'latter' may have been an afterthought (*cf.* Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*[2], p. 175).

The order of the three greater prophetic books is not absolutely fixed in the traditional arrangement. According to a well-known and probably trustworthy tradition, preserved in the Babylonian Talmud (*Baba bathra* 14 *b*), the original order was: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and this is followed, as a rule, in German and French MSS. of the Hebrew text.[1] In this arrangement there may be 'a reminiscence of the fact that Isaiah, *as a book*, is younger than Jeremiah and Ezekiel'; but it may have another explanation, viz. a desire to place Jeremiah and Kings, which was supposed to have been written by Jeremiah, in juxtaposition.

The third division of the Canon, which is made up of 'the writings' (*Hagiographa*), consists of the *three great poetical books*: Psalms, Proverbs, Job; the '*five megilloth*' or 'Rolls,' so called because they are read liturgically at certain special seasons in the synagogue, viz. Canticles at Passover, Ruth at Pentecost (Feast of Weeks, a Harvest-Festival), Lamentations on the 9th of Ab (the day of the great fast commemorating the destruction of the Temple), Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) at Sukkoth (Feast of Tabernacles), and Esther at Purim; and lastly, *the three books*: Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles: total, eleven books.

There is in the Hebrew authorities considerable variation in the order of the books composing the Hagiographa. In the

---

[1] The Masoretic order=Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, is followed in the oldest dated Heb. MS. (the St. Petersburg Codex, dated 916 A.D.), and is the one usual in Spanish MSS. and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible.

Talmud the sequence is: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra (including Nehemiah), Chronicles: the Masoretes[1] adopted the order: Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra (this is usual in Spanish MSS. of the Hebrew text); while German MSS., as a rule, have the regular order given above. It is probable that the Psalms stood at the head of this division when the collection was first formed.

No trustworthy tradition as to the stages by which the three collections of the sacred writings were formed has come down to us. But the threefold division, as is generally agreed, is explicitly recognised in the Preface to the Greek Version of Ecclesiasticus, written by the grandson of the author of the book, *c.* 132 B.C. Here 'the law and the prophets and the others who followed upon them' (*καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκότων*) are referred to, and, again, 'the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers' (*καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βίβλια*), 'the law, the prophets, and the rest of the books' (*καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*). The third division, it will be noticed, in all these passages is described in a somewhat indefinite way ('the rest of the books,' etc.), but there is no reason to doubt that, by the side of 'the law and the prophets,' it implies the existence of a third division, the later title of which ('the writings') is hardly less vague. The very vagueness and uncertainty of its designation suggest that the limits of the third collection had not yet been defined, and that the collection itself may still have been incomplete. The tripartite division of the Canon is also clearly indicated in Luke xxiv. 44 ('all things . . . which are written in the Law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms concerning Me'), but this is the only passage in the New Testament which makes explicit mention of it.

No sound inference can be founded upon the mention in II. Macc. i. 1-2, 18, of Nehemiah's alleged collection of writings ('how, founding a library, he gathered together the things con-

[1] The *Masora* ('tradition') is the tradition of the text which was preserved and embodied in the vowel-points elaborated by the Masoretic scholars of the seventh to the ninth century A.D.

cerning the kings and prophets, and the (writings) of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts'). The passage in which this occurs belongs to one of the spurious epistles which are found in II. Macc. A more definite indication which points to the existence of a canonical collection is found in the Ezra-apocalypse (=II. Ezra) where (ch. xiv. 39-48) 94 books are referred to, of which 70 are to be delivered 'only to such as be wise among the people,' while 24 were to be published openly. Here a sharp distinction is drawn between the canonical writings, 24 in number, which are openly and universally acknowledged, and an esoteric literature (the 70 books) which is divulged only to the initiated (the writing down of the entire 94 is ascribed to Ezra).

The composition of II. Ezra belongs probably to the end of the first century A.D. That Chronicles occupied its present position in the Hebrew Canon already in the New Testament period may be inferred from Luke xi. 51 (=Matt. xxiii. 35). Here the mention of the murder of Abel (Gen. iv.) and of Zechariah (II. Chron. xxiv. 20-22) gains point from the fact that the record of the murders is drawn from the first and the last books of the Old Testament according to the canonical arrangement.

The famous Talmudic passage already referred to (Baba bathra 14 *b*), though destitute of direct historical value, throws some light on the principles which ultimately operated to fix the Canon. After enumerating the supposed authors of certain Biblical books, it concludes: 'Ezra wrote his own book and the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles as far as himself.' It may fairly be inferred from this that, according to the Talmudic view, all the canonical books were in existence by the time of Ezra. In the same Talmudic passage it is declared that 'the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the xii. (minor prophets), Daniel, and Esther.' Most moderns regard 'the Great Synagogue' as 'a dream of the Jewish Doctors' (*cf.* Ryle, *Canon of Old Testament.* Exc. A).

**The Idea of the Canon (Canonicity).**—It is important that the ideas of *collection* and *canonisation* should be kept distinct. Collections of writings were formed, and more or less defined, before they were accorded canonical rank in the strict sense of the term. What suffices to make a book or collection of books canonical? The essential marks of canonicity involve the presence of the following factors according to Josephus (c. Apion, i. 8), who represents the views current in Pharisaic circles in Palestine during the latter half of the first century, A.D.[1]

(*a*) Canonical writings are Θεοῦ δόγματα, *decrees* of God, and as such are to be believed implicitly; they

[1] Hölscher, *Kanonisch. und Apokryph*, § 1.

emanate entirely from the prophetic period; in other words, they are inspired;

(*b*) In contradistinction to all other (profane) literature they bear the specific character of holiness;

(*c*) Their number is exactly determined;

(*d*) Their wording is inviolable.

In the time of Josephus the idea of the Canon, thus strictly defined, seems to have been peculiar to the Pharisees.

Josephus' view of canonicity practically coincides with the Rabbinical. Writing for Greek readers, he merely avoids technical Rabbinical terms. The term *canon* is, of course, derived from the Greek κανών, which means 'carpenter's rule,' but was early employed by metonymy with the meaning *norm, rule, standard*. As applied to a collection of sacred writings, 'a double meaning is implicit; they are *normal, i.e.* they give adequate expression to the Divine Revelation, and, as a consequence of this, they are also *normative, i.e.* they set the standard for us as a rule of faith and life' (Cornill, p. 464). According to Buhl (*Canon*, p. 1) the use of the term in a technical sense is not earlier than the patristic writers of the fourth century A.D. By the Rabbis the idea of canonicity was expressed in various ways. The most striking is the expression 'defile the hands' (Heb. *timmē 'eth ha-yādaim*), which was first employed, apparently, by R. Johanan b. Zakkai (first century A.D.). The sacred writings which were recognised as canonical were invested by the Pharisees with so holy a character that all contact with them was regarded as producing a state of levitical uncleanness, and demanded a ritual washing of the hands. In this way their sacrosanct character was emphasised.

The definitive fixing of the Canon only took place in the second century A.D. It was then carried out under the pressure of overmastering necessity. After the destruction of the Jewish state, and the disappearance of the Temple and its cultus, the sacred Scriptures became the fundamental factor in Israel's continued existence as a people. Israel became 'the people of the Book,' *i.e.* the people whose life was to be regulated throughout in accordance with the precepts of the Divine Revelation embodied in the Law. It was therefore a matter of urgent importance to define with exact precision what books were to be accepted as inspired and possessing a divine character.

This process was not accomplished without some controversy Doubts had been expressed regarding certain

books as to whether they 'defiled the hands,' *i.e.* whether they were worthy of being accorded canonical dignity. The books in question were Canticles, Ḳoheleth (Ecclesiastes), and Esther.[1] At a Rabbinical synod held at Jamnia *c.* 100 A.D., the question was finally decided in favour of the disputed books. In the Mishna, which was compiled in its present form *c.* 200 A.D., the equal canonicity of all twenty-four holy books is fully recognised.

Regarding the Book of Ezekiel it is recorded in the Talmud that difficulties were felt because Ezekiel's words contradict those of the Tora (in the prescriptions regarding the restored Temple at the end of the book), and that the book would have been 'hidden' had not R. Ḥananja b. Ḥiskia (a contemporary of Gamaliel I., the teacher of S. Paul) reconciled these disagreements. An attempt was also made 'to hide' (Heb. *lignoz*: cf. *Genîzā*=a place where such 'hiding' was effected) the Book of Proverbs, about which difficulties existed. In both these cases, it should be noted, the question raised is not whether these books 'defile the hands.' Their canonical character was not disputed. What was aimed at, apparently, was their exclusion from public liturgical reading in the synagogue [this is the probable meaning of the term 'to hide']. It is, perhaps, not without significance that no citation occurs in the New Testament from Esther and Ḳoheleth, whose *canonicity* was called in question as stated above.

In definitely fixing the limits of the Canon the Rabbis were governed by a principle which admits of clear and precise statement. The standard of canonicity was determined in accordance with the theory that inspiration was active within a fixed period. This period was delimited as extending from Moses to Ezra. Only writings which were believed to have been produced within this period were recognised as canonical. The period subsequent to the time of Ezra-Nehemiah marked the extinction of prophecy. Books which, as a matter of fact, were of later production and yet were admitted into the Canon, were only accorded this position because they were regarded as possessing a character which brought them within the required limit.

It must be remembered that this is the later Rabbinical *theory*

[1] Jonah and Ruth are also mentioned in one passage as the subject of such a discussion.

in accordance with which the limits of the Canon were officially fixed. As a matter of fact the collection of the Books composing Holy Scripture had long been more or less defined, and the process of collection had been determined by historical causes, among which the illuminated selective sense of the pious community exercised a very real and profound influence. Josephus (c. Apion. i. 8), explaining why twenty-two Books (as he reckoned them) which have been written from Moses *till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians*,[1] alone enjoy canonical authority among the Jews (are considered to be 'decrees of God') explains this as being due to 'the precise and definite succession of the prophets' (διὰ . . . τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν). In other words, they emanate from the period during which the prophetic spirit had been maintained in an unbroken succession of prophets and was active and alive. In the technical language of the Rabbis this period is denoted by the term *up to this point* (Heb. עד כאן). The period that follows is described as *from this point onwards* (Heb. מכאן ואילך): *e.g.* 'The books of Ben Sira and all the books which were written *from this point onwards* (*i.e.* after the age of Ezra and his associates) do not defile the hands' (*Tos. Yadaim*, ii. 13).

In accordance with the Rabbinical theory the superior limit of this inspiration-period is the time of Moses. Before Moses no canonical Scripture can have been written. This view is, doubtless, based upon the historical position of the Tora, which was the first section of the Scriptures to secure official embodiment, and always occupied the place of honour in the collection of the Sacred Books. But, at the same time, another motive may, as Hölscher (*op. cit.* § 5) contends, have been at work. The Maccabean period, and the time that followed, was marked by a vast quickening of religious life and hopes, which found characteristic expression in *apocalyptic books*. These writings, as is well known, were largely put forth in the names of the great heroic figures of old, such as Enoch, Abraham, the Twelve Patriarchs, and even Adam and Eve.[2] The vogue of this literature

[1] Artaxerxes Longimanus (464-424), in whose reign Ezra accomplished his work, is undoubtedly meant.

[2] These pseudepigraphic books are by no means destitute of religious value. Probably the material embodied in them was largely derived from popular tradition, and particular lines of the tradition may really have been supposed to go back to the heroic figures of antiquity. The writers believed they were giving literary expression to this old tradition. Cf. *Religion and Worship of Synagogue*, p. 35.

—which seems to have been considerable among certain sections of the people—constituted a distinct danger to the older collections of religious literature acknowledged in official orthodox (Pharisaic) circles. 'What availed the age of the Tora, which Moses had received, in face of the revelation which in the primæval period had been vouchsafed to the Patriarchs, to Noah, Enoch, and even Adam?' The apocalyptic literature itself shows traces of a certain feeling of superiority (*cf.* Book of Enoch, civ. 11-13; and especially II. Ezra xiv. 44-47[1]). Hence the necessity felt by the Teachers of the Law for arriving at some principle for safeguarding the superior position of the older religious literature, and this was found in the theory of the prophetic period (Moses to Ezra). All literature falling outside these limits was necessarily excluded by this criterion, and so the Books of Enoch and Ben Sira share a similar fate.

The Book of Ben Sira [Ecclesiasticus] is a striking example of the operation of this law. It was highly esteemed by the orthodox and is not infrequently cited in the Talmud, but did not secure a place in the Canon. The anti-apocalyptic bias of the Teachers of the Law seems to have become more pronounced as time went on. It is a significant fact that the Book of Daniel is the only purely apocalyptic book to be admitted into the Old Testament canonical collection. Apocalyptic writings of a subsequent date were not accepted by the Teachers of the Law. Probably it was due to this anti-apocalyptic bias that writings associated with such names as Elijah, Isaiah, Baruch—which would not fall within the exclusive rule referred to above—gained no official recognition.

The complete collection of sacred books which were included in the Palestinian Canon numbers, according to the ordinary reckoning, twenty-four (5+8+11). The earliest attestation of this number is II. Ezra xiv. 44 (94 - 70 books = 24). In the Talmud and Midrash the Old Testament is regularly termed 'the twenty-four holy scriptures' (כ"ד כתבי הקדש) or 'the twenty-four books' (כ"ד ספרים). Jerome also mentions this numeration. Another reckoning, however, is met with. Josephus (c. Apion, i. 8) expressly says that the Jewish Scriptures contained *twenty-two* books, in accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (so

[1] II. Ezra is an *apocalyptic* book—the only example of such in our official Apocrypha.

also Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerome). This total seems to have been obtained by combining Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. Hölscher (*op. cit.*) argues that this arrangement is the original one ; but such a view is improbable. It is noteworthy that the LXX. rendering of Ruth is by a different hand from that of Judges, and of Lamentations from that of Jeremiah. The reckoning is probably an artificial one.

**The Formation of the Canonical Collection**: (1) **the Tora.**—It has already been pointed out that the three collections of Books which make up the Old Testament Scriptures had already come into existence and been defined *as collections* before they were invested with strict canonical authority. The first of these collections to assume a more or less fixed shape and acquire official authority was that of the *Tora of Moses* or Pentateuch. The beginning of this process may be traced in the solemn promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code, and its public acceptance by the representatives of the nation as binding law, in the eighteenth year of Josiah, *i.e.* 621 B.C. (II. Kings xxiii. 1-7). Another and more important stage is marked by national acceptance of the Tora of Ezra in 444 B.C. (*cf.* Neh. viii.-x.). It is probable that the 'law' published by Ezra on this famous occasion was not the entire Pentateuch, but the recently compiled *Priestly Code* (P), in its original form. It may be presumed that some time in the interval between 621 and 444 the Deuteronomic law-book (D) had been united with the great national history-book which had been formed by the fusion of the Jahvistic with the Elohistic narratives (JE). In this way JE had been united with D—the Mosaic law-book with the national history. After P had been solemnly recognised and accepted, Ezra would naturally take steps to secure its incorporation with JED. This process was effected probably not very much later than 444 B.C.[1] by a redactor or possibly a school of writers, who worked in P into JED, and edited the whole in the spirit of the Priestly Code. The Priestly Code extends into the Book of Joshua, but it is highly probable that this section had been disjoined from the rest well before the time of Ezra. Thus the

[1] According to Cornill, between 440 and 400 B.C.

redactor or redactors, who united the Mosaic part of P with JED soon after 444 B.C., may be regarded as the compilers of the Pentateuch in *substantially* its present form. But it must not be supposed that the Tora was 'canonised' by Ezra, in the strict sense. It became authoritative as containing the 'Law,' but the letter of the Law was not yet inviolable—its text was not yet fixed. The process of redaction went on long after the time of Ezra. But the Law-Book secured an unique position of authority in the Jewish community which it has ever since retained. There was, as yet, no formal Canon, but there may be said to have come into existence a *material* one. Not the Law-Book as such but the Law contained in it became the 'Canon' of the community. The fact that the Samaritan community to this day acknowledges only the Tora as Holy Scripture is eloquent proof of its originally distinct and unique existence as an authoritative collection.

The growth of the New Testament Canon offers a striking analogy. Before the Canon of the New Testament had been delimited the Christian community possessed a 'material' Canon in the traditional words of the Lord.

(2) **The Prophetic Collection.**—The historical books which make up what is known as 'the former prophets' (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) form the immediate continuation of the narrative part of the Pentateuch, and are, indeed, organically connected with its literary factors. In particular, the Priestly Code extends through the Book of Joshua. Thus in its original form P must have included an account of the conquest of Canaan and the division of the land among the twelve tribes. The separation of Joshua from the Pentateuch was effected artificially when the Tora of Moses, as containing the binding rule of life, was given a position of special and unique authority. In the literary investigation of the Books, therefore, it is desirable, and even necessary to deal with the first six books as forming a single group (the Hexateuch), rather than with the canonical arrangement into a group of five (the Pentateuch).

But the other historical books are also organically connected with the narrative part of the Hexateuch. During the Babylonian Exile there was a very extensive

literary activity, one of the most important results of which was the redaction of the traditional history by a school of Deuteronomic editors. The outcome was an Exilic Book of the History of the People of Israel, narrating the history from the creation of the world down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.). This elaborate work contained JE + D of the Hexateuch, a Deuteronomic edition of Judges, a shorter form of our present Books of Samuel, and the Books of Kings, in substantially their present form. The union of P with JE + D of the Hexateuch, and the separation of the Pentateuch, to some extent disintegrated the original historical narrative. But it is important to realise that when the Pentateuch was thus separated off, and recognised as authoritative in a special sense, the books which make up 'the former prophets' were already in existence in a form identical to a large extent with the one they ultimately assumed. The collection of the prophetic writings proper—'the latter prophets'—also goes back in its beginnings certainly to the Babylonian Exile. The study of prophecy was, during this period, pursued with great eagerness and activity, as the significant appeals of the prophets of the Babylonian Exile to earlier prophecy clearly indicate (*cf.* Ezek. xxxviii. 17; Isa. xl. 21, xli.26, xliv. 7, etc; and especially Zech. i. 4, and vii. 4, where 'the former prophets' are referred to).

But the prophetic collection, as a whole, was by no means definitely fixed in the fifth century B.C. The Books of Joel and Jonah belong entirely to a later time, and the whole collection was freely edited and revised over a considerable period. Nor did it until much later possess an authoritative character such as would suffice to place it beside the Law. The fact that the Chronicler, *c.* 250 B.C., could revise the historical books (Samuel and Kings), and restate the history contained in them from a different point of view, shows clearly that the collection had not yet attained a fully authoritative place. This position had been reached by the time when Ecclesiasticus was written (*cf.* ch. 44-50), *i.e. c.* 200 B.C.; and it is significant that the Book of Daniel, the composition of which falls after this date (165-164 B.C.), did not find a place in the prophetic collection (nor is Daniel mentioned by Ben Sira in his list of prophets).

(3) **The Writings (Hagiographa).**—Here again there can be no doubt that, when the prophetic collection had been definitively fixed and closed, a good deal of the literature which is now included in the third collection of Old Testament sacred writings was already in existence. That such a collection was already beginning to group itself may, indeed, be inferred from the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus; but, as has already been pointed out, the terms there employed indicate that it was then quite vague and undefined. 'Outside Law and Prophets other writings were extant which were regarded as holy, and were read for purposes of edification, but for which clearly no special class-name had at that time been coined.'[1]

We have already seen that the controversies regarding the delimitation of the Canon in the strict sense were to all intents and purposes concentrated on the question whether certain books of the third collection should be regarded as canonical or not. The question of canonicity practically narrowed itself down to the definition of the third collection; regarding the other two there was substantially no dispute. The books more particularly called in question were Koheleth and Esther. It was natural that the Psalms should form the starting-point of the third collection. The Psalter, which is the most important and valuable constituent element in it, could hardly find a place in the prophetic collection; its peculiar and unique character made such a course impossible. No part of Holy Scripture played a more important part in the devotional life of the Jewish community. It was not only the 'hymn-book of the Second Temple,' but also, to a large extent, its prayer-book. And so it is not surprising to find a quotation from it (Ps. lxxix. 2-3) already cited in I. Macc. vii. 17 as 'word of Scripture.' By the side of the Psalter such books as Job and Proverbs would naturally range themselves. The principle which ultimately operated to define canonical limits, the theory, viz., of the prophetic period (from Moses to Ezra), sufficed to secure the canonicity of the remaining books, and also to exclude so orthodox a book as Ecclesiasticus.

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 477.

It is important to note that the term Tora is sometimes employed to denote the entire Canon (including the Prophets and the Writings). This usage is first met with in the New Testament. Thus in S. John x. 34, Ps. lxxxii. 6 is cited as from the 'Law';[1] and similarly in S. John xv. 25 (Ps. xxxv. 19, lxix. 5) and I. Cor. xiv. 21 (Isa. xxviii. 11-12 cited). This usage has its roots in the unique position assigned to the Law from the first, and may fairly be appealed to as evidence that in the first instance the Law, *as an authoritative collection*, stood alone. The 'Law' and the 'material' Canon were identical. When the 'Prophets' later became a fixed collection and authoritative, they were placed side by side with the 'Law,' but always occupied a position subordinate to it. The work of the prophets was conceived of as essentially an enforcing of the Divine Law, which was eternally valid. Hence the prophetic collection could be called 'tradition' (Aram. *'ashlemtā*, a term applied by the Masoretes to the prophetic collection only), *i.e.* the historical enforcement of the Law.[2] Just as *Torā* is sometimes used to denote all three divisions of Old Testament Scripture, so also is the double name 'Law and Prophets' (*cf.* S. Matt. v. 17, vii. 12; S. Luke xvi. 16, 29, 31; Acts xxviii. 13). Here again such a nomenclature points to a time when the two collections were alone authoritative. Apparently the sacred Scriptures, as a fixed collection *including the 'prophets'* (the prophecies of Jeremiah are referred to), are alluded to in Dan. ix. 2 ('Daniel understood *in the books*,' *i.e* the Scriptures).

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[1] *Is it not written in your Law, I said: ye are gods?*

[2] The Hebrew term for 'tradition' (*ḳabbālā*) is used to include both the prophets *and* the writings.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

*Literature.*—Articles: *Text and Versions* (by Burkitt) in *Encycl. Bibl.*; *Text of the Old Testament* (by Strack) in Hastings' *D.B.*; Introduction to *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (by Driver); Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* (E.T.), ch. xx.; T. H. Weir, *A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament* (1899); A. S. Geden, *Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (1909).

**The Masoretic (Hebrew) Text.**—The canonical text of the Old Testament, as it lies before us, is the official text which was finally settled by the labours of the Masoretic scholars in the seventh to the ninth centuries A.D. The *masora* (from the Hebrew word *māsar*, 'to hand down traditionally') is the technical name of the tradition of the text which had been handed down and preserved especially in the tradition of the synagogue-worship.

All known Hebrew MSS. contain the Masoretic Hebrew text, *i.e.* the text as fixed by the Masoretes; and none of these MSS. is of any great age. The oldest that can certainly be dated is the famous St. Petersburg Codex which bears a date = 916 A.D.

The oldest form of MS. is the 'roll' (Heb. *mĕgillā*). Books were originally written on rolls of parchment (or leather, in the East), and in the synagogue-service, which is very conservative in maintaining ancient usages, the lessons from the Law and certain other books (the 'five megilloth') are still read from rolls. The text is written in short columns (across the width of the roll) without vowel-points or accents. The Pentateuch occupies one roll. Each of the 'five megilloth' (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Koheleth, and Esther) is read from a separate roll.

MSS. in *book* form (codices) may contain the whole Bible, or considerable portions of it (embracing several books). They are

usually written on parchment or paper, and are provided, as a rule, with vowels and accents.

Two causes have operated to cause the disappearance of old Hebrew MSS.: (*a*) the rule that all MSS. used for liturgical purposes, if damaged in any way, must be 'concealed' or 'hidden away' (Heb. *gānaz*). They were either buried beside a corpse, or consigned to a special room in the synagogue (the *gĕnîzā*) and there allowed to moulder away; (*b*) a considerable number of Bible MSS. (especially Pentateuch rolls) were destroyed in times of persecution.

It has already been stated that all known Hebrew MSS. represent a single variety of text, that, viz., of the Masoretic Recension. This recension is marked by a certain number of peculiar features—such as blank spaces occurring in the middle of a verse, *e.g.* Gen. xxxv. 22—which show, not only that the official text goes back to a single archetype, but that the faults and mistakes of the archetype have been faithfully copied and reproduced. However faithfully and carefully the Masoretic text has been handed down, it is clear that its ultimate value must depend upon the character of its archetype. A number of considerations go to show that this archetypal text was constituted about the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries after Christ—the very time when Judaism, as we have seen, found it necessary, in the interests of self-preservation, to delimit the Canon. It is evident, indeed, that the rigid definition of the Canon must necessarily have involved the fixing of the text.

The text thus constituted (perhaps, as Lagarde has suggested, about the time of Hadrian) was, of course, a purely consonantal one.[1] In course of time the necessity of indicating the vowel sounds became more and more felt, as Hebrew had long ceased to be a living language, 'and only prolonged an artificial existence as the language of the cultus and the learned.'[2] From Jerome's complaints about the ambiguity of the Hebrew text, it is evident that in his time no complete system of indicating the vowel-signs had been devised; and the same is true of the Talmuds. The system of punctuation by means of vowel-points was developed later by the Masoretic

[1] Only the long vowels or diphthongs were marked by vowel-letters (the so-called *matres lectionis*).

[2] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 493.

scholars, between the seventh and ninth centuries. This, the one familiar to us in the printed Hebrew Bibles, and the most elaborate, is the so-called system of 'Tiberias.' But a number of old MSS. reproduce another system of superlinear vocalisation—the so-called 'Babylonian'—which, however, is not so perfectly developed or so elaborate. A system of accentuation was also developed at the same time. The Masoretic vowel-system, however, embodies a traditional pronunciation which is much older than itself. It probably represents in a faithful way the pronunciation current when the text was fixed early in the second century.

**The Criticism of the Masoretic Text.**—A text constituted in this way, at the earliest towards the end of the first century A.D., is obviously far removed from the autographs of the original Hebrew writings, and had passed through a long previous history. One momentous change, that must have affected the text considerably, was the transition from the old form of Hebrew script (retained by the Samaritans) to the so-called 'square character' or 'Assyrian writing.' Changes of spelling (especially in the direction of extending the use of *matres lectionis*), and in the method of writing the text, also took place. On these disturbing factors Cornill (*op. cit.* p. 496) remarks:—

'The history of the writing thus furnishes us with the following *result*: the autographs of the Biblical authors were written on leather in the very incompletely developed old Hebrew writing in *scriptio continua*, without any division of words and sentences, and almost entirely without *matres lectionis*. The text underwent a complete change in the kind of writing employed in it, and an almost complete change of orthography; it has thus experienced various vicissitudes, which fact leads us to suspect that it has not come off without suffering a good deal of misfortune.'

Other factors also operated in earlier times to modify the text. It was not copied with the minute care that was lavished upon it when it had become canonical; a large amount of scribal error in the pre-Masoretic text must, therefore, be allowed for. A number of unmistakable cases of this kind of error can be detected by a comparison of the double texts that occur, such as II. Sam.

xxii. = Ps. xviii.[1] The text was also freely edited and glossed, and sometimes appears to have undergone deliberate revision. Jewish tradition itself testifies explicitly to such alterations in a certain limited number of passages (18)—the so-called 'corrections of the scribes' (*tiḳḳûnê sôfᵉrîm*)—and the internal evidence of the textual phenomena indicates many others. A good instance of 'tendency' alteration, dictated by dogmatic considerations, is the substitution in proper names compounded with *Ba'al* of the term *bosheth* (='shame'). Thus *'Ishba'al*, the original form of the name, became later *'Ishbosheth.* The originally innocent designation *Ba'al* had become in later times offensive to religious feeling; and it became necessary to eliminate it. Clear cases also occur, both in the accentuation and the pointing, where the consonantal text has been made to bear a non-natural meaning in the interests of a particular—and, in many cases, strained—exegesis.

**The Science of Textual Criticism as applied to the Old Testament.**—In order to arrive at an approximately original form of text, it is clear, from what has been said, that we must get behind the Masoretic Recension. To accomplish this is the task of scientific textual criticism.

A careful examination of the Masoretic text shows that its value and quality are not uniform. They vary largely in different books, or parts of books. On the whole, the text of the Pentateuch has been, as we should expect to find, most carefully preserved. In the case of some of the other books—*e.g.* Ezekiel—the text has suffered much, and is in a very defective condition. What means exist for arriving at a more correct form?

(1) Of *direct* external evidence—apart from the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch—there is none, for the variants yielded by Hebrew MSS. are of very slight value, and are practically unimportant. But a most valuable *indirect aid* exists in the *Ancient Versions*, which often represent readings in particular passages which are manifestly superior to those of the Masoretic text. To recover the Hebrew text underlying the ancient versions is, therefore, one of the principal tasks of Textual

[1] *E.g.* וַיִּרְאַ (II. Sam. xxii. 11) = וַיֵּרָא (Ps. xviii. 11).

Science. The most valuable of the versions for this purpose is the LXX.

(2) There is also the internal evidence of the Hebrew text itself. Palpable scribal errors can often be corrected by the requirements of logical consistency and sequence. The law of *parallelism*, which is a dominant feature in the structure of Hebrew poetry, and also, to a large extent, in Hebrew prose—especially the rhetorical variety—is a valuable criterion in detecting corruptions in the text, and also often in suggesting the necessary correction.[1]

(3) The employment of conjectural emendation, applied in accordance with philological method, is an indispensable aid to criticism. Here, however, a considerable amount of caution is necessary, as well as tact, a fine judgment, wide knowledge, and exact scholarship. Before this method is resorted to the traditional text must be carefully weighed and tested, and the evidence of the versions carefully studied and brought to bear. Emendations which are based upon a wide survey of the textual facts, and are logically deduced from them, will naturally be more likely to win assent than mere guesses, however brilliant, which can be controlled by no objective criterion.

One test which may be applied to this form of textual criticism is to note how far proposed emendations have secured the assent of competent critical scholars. Where a particular emendation has been widely accepted it is thereby raised considerably in the scale of probability, and should be regarded as on a different level from suggestions which fail to secure any adherents. In cases, too, where a particular emendation has been proposed independently by more than one scholar, the probable correctness of the conjecture is enhanced.

**The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Ancient Versions.**—The importance of the external aids that exist for arriving at an earlier form of the Hebrew text makes it necessary to enumerate these. But only a bare enumeration is possible here; fuller details must be sought elsewhere.[2]

(*a*) **The Samaritan Pentateuch.**—The Samaritans, as is

[1] Metrical considerations of a more detailed character are regarded by some modern scholars as affording a valuable means for helping to emend the text.

[2] See the literature cited at the head of this chapter.

well known, organised themselves as a religious community on an independent basis some not very long time after the reforming work of Ezra-Nehemiah had been carried out. They claimed to be the true adherents and exponents of the Mosaic religion, and accepted the Pentateuch (but no other books besides) as authoritative Scripture. They may, as Cornill suggests, have taken over the Pentateuch some time in the fourth century B.C. The text of the Pentateuch which they thus took over has been preserved by them and used ever since in their worship. It is the *Hebrew* text written in Samaritan characters (which are practically identical with the old Hebrew script). 'The *Samaritan Pentateuch* thus provides us with a recension of the text, independent of the LXX. and belonging to the time shortly after its definitive completion and close.'[1] It thus approximates to the text of the Pentateuch as it existed in the fourth century B.C. The fact that it coincides substantially with the Masoretic text,[2] shows that the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch has been preserved with special care, from the time when it was compiled in its present form. The authoritative and sacred character with which it was invested from the first would naturally lead to such a result.

(*b*) **The Alexandrine Translation (the LXX.).**—By far the most valuable and important of the Old Versions is the Alexandrine translation of the Old Testament known as the LXX. This translation was made in Alexandria by different hands at different times, and, therefore, is of unequal value in its different parts. The earliest and most carefully executed rendering is that of the Pentateuch, which was made, perhaps, *c.* 250 B.C. It is to this translation of the Pentateuch that the famous 'letter of Aristeas,' containing a legendary account of the circumstances which led to the production of the translation refers. More than a century after 250 the grandson of Ben Sira in the Prologue to the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus (written *c.* 132 B.C.) refers to Greek translations of 'the law and the prophets and the rest of

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 511.

[2] It shows some 6000 variants as compared with the Masoretic text, but the majority of these are of comparatively slight importance. Some derive special weight from the fact that the LXX. agrees with them against the Masoretic text.

the books,' so that the greater part of the Greek Old Testament was apparently already in existence by the second half of the second century B.C.

The LXX. thus, in its correct text, represents a Hebrew text several centuries older than that of the Masoretic Recension—and more than a thousand years older than the earliest extant Hebrew MS. This fact makes the recovery of the Hebrew text underlying it a matter of urgent importance. But the problem is beset with many formidable difficulties, which can only gradually be overcome.

The text of the LXX. has itself suffered considerably in the process of transmission—by careless transcription, and in some cases from deliberate 'tendency' alterations. Special revisions of the text have been made, and distinct types of text have crystallised themselves in special recensions. Three such made under ecclesiastical authority at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries are referred to by Jerome, viz. a Palestinian, that of Hesychius, and that of Lucian. The last has been recognised in certain MSS., and partly reconstructed by Lagarde. It is of great importance, as it contains a number of old readings which have disappeared from the ordinary LXX. text.

The divergences between the old Hebrew text followed by the LXX. and the text which gradually took shape and gained authority among the Palestinian Jews led in time to disputes, especially as the LXX. was appealed to by Christians in controversy with Jewish opponents. In this way the old Greek version gradually fell into disrepute in Jewish circles. The fixing of the Canon and the establishment of a canonical text made the provision of a Greek version in accord with the latter a necessity. To meet this the slavishly literal translation of Aquila was produced; and it at once 'attained canonical authority in the eyes of all [Jews] who did not understand Hebrew.'[1]

The first task before critical scholars in this department is, therefore, the recovery of the true text of the LXX. A very large number of MSS. exist which have only been collated in an imperfect manner. These will have to be examined carefully afresh, family groups of text classified, and the whole material made available for critical purposes.

For these purposes two valuable auxiliary aids exist in the *citations made from the LXX.* in patristic writers, and, above all, in the *secondary versions made from the*

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 516.

*LXX.* Patristic citations are useful, when used with discrimination, especially in delimiting families of texts. Versions were made from the LXX. in order to provide non-Greek speaking Christians with translations of the Old Testament as part of the Scriptures of the Church. The oldest of these is the *Vetus Latina,* which was formed in the second century A.D.: then come the Coptic Versions, the Ethiopic, the Gothic, and the Armenian. Critical editions of these will be of great service in fixing the true text of the parent LXX. When all these means have been made fully available, and the true text of the LXX. has been recovered, it will be possible, perhaps, to arrive at the Hebrew text underlying it. Such a Hebrew text would be of inestimable value for the criticism of the received Hebrew text. But a vast amount of work has yet to be done before such a result can be attained. Meanwhile, however, much useful preliminary work is being accomplished, and it is possible to use the LXX., even in its present imperfect text, with great advantage for the criticism of the Biblical Books. The textual work of such scholars as Lagarde, Wellhausen, Merx, Cornill, Driver, Ryssel, Baethgen, not to speak of Duhm and Marti,[1] have shown what can be accomplished in this direction. It must not be assumed from what has been said that there is any reason to suppose that the Hebrew text underlying the LXX. is superior, *as a whole,* to the Masoretic Recension. While it contains many old readings of great value, yet it often exhibits a text markedly inferior to the Hebrew one. It is in correcting the latter in detail that its real value lies.

(*c*) **The other Ancient Versions** must be dismissed more briefly. These are the *Targums* or Aramaic translations of the Old Testament which were originally made to render the lections read in the synagogue intelligible to the people when Hebrew had ceased to be their mother-tongue. Targums exist to all the canonical books of the Old Testament except to Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah: often in more than one form. Both for the Pentateuch and the Prophets there is a Babylonian as well as a Jerusalem Targum. The most important

[1] This list is, of course, by no means exhaustive,

representatives of this class of translation are the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and the Targum of the Prophets, which is ascribed to Jonathan b. Uzziel, a pupil of the famous Hillel. Onkelos is fairly literal; the Targum of Jonathan is much freer and more paraphrastic in its renderings. Both appear to have been of Palestinian origin, but were finally revised in Babylonia. Besides the above there is a Jerusalem Targum to the Pentateuch, which is extant; and one of the Prophets which is known only from occasional citations. The Targums have some value for textual criticism, but the use of them for this purpose, owing to their paraphrastic character, requires special care and knowledge. The Hebrew text of the Biblical books underlying it goes back to an early (pre-Masoretic) period.

Another ancient version is the *Old Syriac*, known as the Peshitto. This is of Christian origin, and the Old Testament rendering was made (from the Hebrew text) in conjunction with the New Testament. For text-critical purposes the Syriac Old Testament is not of the highest value, as the translation has been subjected to various modifying influences, especially that of the LXX. Lastly, there is Jerome's new Latin translation of the Old Testament from the *Hebraica veritas*, begun about 392 A.D. with the Book of Kings (to which is prefixed the famous 'Prologus galeatus'), and finished about the year 405 with the Psalter.

**Some Examples of applied Textual Criticism.**—One or two examples will, perhaps, help the reader to understand more easily how the means for correcting the Hebrew text which have been described above can be utilised for the purposes of textual criticism.

(*a*) Corrupt passages of the Hebrew text corrected by the aid of the Versions.

**I. Sam. xiv. 16.**—והנה המחנה נמוג וילך והלם: Here the last two words of the Hebrew are untranslatable (literally the sentence runs: 'And behold the camp melted away and went and here'): the LXX. has καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ παρεμβολὴ τεταραγμένη ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν. This yields a thoroughly satisfactory sense, and we are enabled to restore הֲלֹם for the corrupt וילך, and render: 'And behold the camp melted away *hither and thither.*'

**Isaiah xlvii. 3 b. 4**:—

נָקָם אקח ולא אֶפְגַּע אָדָם׃ 3 *b*.

4. גֹּאֲלֵנוּ יהוה צבאות שמו קדוש ישראל׃

**A.V.** 3 *b*. *I will take vengeance, and I will not meet thee* [*i.e.* the Virgin daughter of Babylon] *as a man.*

4. *As for our Redeemer, the Lord of hosts is His name,* etc.

The Hebrew text here cannot be right; for (*a*) v. 4 interrupts the sequence of the poem, in which Jahveh is the speaker; (*b*) the words rendered, *I will not meet thee as a man,* are highly uncertain in meaning, and, however translated, cannot be said to yield a sense suitable to the context; (*c*) the lines violate the well-defined rhythmical structure which marks the rest of the context (where the Kînā rhythm prevails). These difficulties are solved by reading with some MSS. of the LXX. אמר for אדם ('says' for 'man')[1]: the difficult word אפגע can now be made to yield a suitable sense, by being treated as a *nif. tolerativum.* Thus the following perfectly symmetrical lines result:—

נקם אקח ולא אֶפָּגַע אמר גאלנו

יהוה צבאות שמו קדוש ישראל׃

*I will take vengeance and not be entreated—says our Redeemer;*

*Jahveh Sabaoth is His name—the Holy One of Israel.*

**I. Sam. xiv. 21.**—Here the words סביב וגם המה להיות are awkward and difficult in the Masoretic text. With the preceding sentence they may be rendered thus: [*Now the Hebrews had been to the Philistines as aforetime, in that they went up with them to the camp*] *round about; but they were for being* [*with Israel*]. The LXX. and Vulgate, however, have ἐπεστράφησαν καὶ αὐτοί, *reversi sunt ut essent* respectively, *i.e.* סָבְבוּ גַּם הֵמָּה. This reading at once solves all difficulties: [*Now the Hebrews, who were to the Philistines as before,*] *they also turned* [*to be with Israel*], *i.e.* deserted to Israel.

**Amos i. 11.**—ויטרף לעד אפו ועברתו שָׁמְרָה נצח. *And*

[1] Involving the transposition of two letters and the confusion of ד and ר.

*his anger did tear perpetually and he kept his wrath for ever.* Here the Peshitto and Vulgate give 'And he *retained* his anger perpetually,' reading וַיִּטֹּר for ויטרף (one letter less). This is strongly supported by the parallelism (*retained anger . . . kept wrath*), and is undoubtedly right.

(*b*) As examples of felicitous conjectural emendation the following may be cited :—

Judges xi. 37.—(Of Jepthah's daughter): [*Let me alone two months*] *that I may depart and go down upon the mountains* (ואלכה וירדתי על־חחרים). Robertson Smith reading וְיָרַדְתִּי for וירדתי obtains the excellent sense: *that I may go and wander at large on the mountains.* The incongruity of the received Hebrew text is obvious.

An interesting case of a conjectural emendation being afterwards confirmed by positive evidence is II. Kings xv. 10: [*And Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and smote him*] *before the people* עָם קִבָּל (So R.V. following Peshitto, Targum, Vulgate). But there are grave philological objections to the correctness of this expression: קבל is Aramaic, and the article would at least be required with עם to make the translation a justifiable one. Moreover, the sense yielded is not a suitable one. Several scholars, sensible of these objections, and feeling that the context required a place-name, conjectured בִּיבִלְעָם 'in Ibleam'; this conjecture was later brilliantly confirmed by the Lucianic Recension which has the reading *ἐν Ἰεβλαάμ.*

(*c*) Sometimes corruption of the text appears to have taken place at a comparatively early period, and is already present in the Hebrew text underlying the Ancient Versions. Modern critical scholarship has not hesitated to deal with such textual problems by the method of conjectural emendation. Such attempts have, of course, to be judged on their merits. A certain *subjective* element must necessarily be present in the results so obtained. Nevertheless, where a particular passage is by general consent thoroughly corrupt and a certain solution (by conjectural emendation) has commended itself to a number of critical scholars, the results

so attained have a certain claim to be considered probable. In any case where a number of scholars have worked on the text of a passage we may expect to find the lines of the true solution suggested. An *approximation* to the true text may be reached in this way, even though details may remain uncertain.

Perhaps the following example will help to make these points clear.

One of several very difficult passages in Isa. xxiii. (the oracle on Tyre) is ver. 10. This runs in the Masoretic text:

עִבְרִי אַרְצֵךְ כַּיְאֹר
בַּת־תַּרְשִׁישׁ אֵין מֵזַח עוֹד׃

*i.e. Pass through thy land as the Nile, O Daughter of Tarshish: there is no girdle* (=? restraining power about thee) *any more.* This is supposed to mean that 'the people of Tarshish are now as free of the land they live in as the Nile is of Egypt' (Skinner): *i.e.* the ruin of Tyre leaves her colony (Tarshish) without the restraints hitherto imposed upon it. But, as Skinner (*ad loc.*) remarks: 'Nowhere else is a man represented as hampered by his own girdle; the removal of it is rather a synonym for weakness.' The LXX. render: *till* (עִבְרִי for עִבְרִי) *thine own land; for indeed no longer come ships from Tarshish.* On this Whitehouse remarks:[1] 'The LXX. in their rendering show that the text is corrupt. The word for *Nile* is absent from their text, and is evidently due to dittography of the original Hebrew ending of the word for *pass* (עברי) and the first two characters of the word for *land.*' He, therefore, omits *as the Nile* (כיאר), and, adopting Duhm's suggestion to read *harbour* (מחז) for girdle (מזח), translates:

*Cultivate thy land, O daughter of Tarshish—the harbour is no more!*

'Mercantile enterprise is destroyed, and the only resource for the inhabitants of Tarshish is to abandon trade for agriculture.' The LXX. rendering certainly suggests that the words *as the Nile* (כיאר) and *girdle* (מזח) are uncertain;[2] but the corruption is evidently older than the LXX.

Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*) proposes to read:

עברי ארץ מצר אניות תרשיש אין מחז עוד׃

*i.e. Pass over to the land of Egypt, ye ships of Tarshish; there is no haven any more.*

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[1] *Isaiah* (in 'Century' Bible Series), p. 263.

[2] They may have read them כִּי אַף and מְזֶה respectively.

The Masoretic text ארצך כיאר arose thus. כי is often corrupted from מ and there are cases of א arising from צ: hence כיאר from מצר: after this corruption had taken place the final ך of ארצך arose by dittography.

The most thorough textual treatment of the passage is Duhm's. Duhm transfers the two opening words (which he reads as עִבְרִי אֹרֶץ) to the close of ver. 9 (in place of נִכְבַּדֵי אֶרֶץ).

The remaining consonants of the second, third, and fourth words are כ כיאר בת: the last four of these were read by the LXX., he thinks, as אניות (πλοῖα). So it is possible to emend: בְּכִי אני בת תרשיש *Weep, O fleet of the daughter of Tarshish* or בכו אניות תרשיש, *Weep, O ships of Tarshish* (*cf.* ver. 1). The following clause he renders, as already stated: *There is no haven any more.*

It must be admitted that the restored text,

*Weep, O ships of Tarshish—there is no haven any more,*

yields a fine opening line for the stanza, admirable both in rhythm and sense.

## *PART II.—SPECIAL INTRODUCTION*

We now pass to the consideration of the individual Books, which make up the collection of sacred Scripture, on their *literary* side. Here our investigation will be concerned with such questions as the contents, age, composition, and authorship of the books in question (=the so-called 'Higher Criticism').

If a purely *historical* method of treatment were adopted it would be necessary to trace the development of the literature from its beginnings, and follow its successive stages through the individual books, many of which are of highly composite structure. But the practical inconvenience of such a course is obvious. It would involve the violent disintegration of many books of the Bible, and would necessitate the distribution of their various parts over the different periods of Hebrew literature. The literary relation and affinities of the books cannot, of course, be ignored. But it will be best to combine the discussion of these with the treatment of the books as units. It will not be possible, however, to adhere strictly to the order and divisions of the Hebrew Canon in this treatment, but will be necessary to group the books in accordance with their general literary character and subject matter into :—

*A.* *The Legislative and Historical Books* (the Hexateuch, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah).

*B.* *The Prophetic Literature* (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the twelve minor Prophets).

*C.* *Poetical and Didactic Books* (including didactic historical books): Psalms, Job, Proverbs, the five Megilloth, and

*D.* *Apocalyptic Literature* (the Book of Daniel)

### A. THE LEGISLATIVE AND HISTORICAL BOOKS.

Attention has already been called to the fact that a comprehensive historical work was compiled during the exile by a school of Deuteronomic writers which surveyed the entire history from the Creation down to the destruction of Jerusalem, and including a notice of the release of King Jehoiachin from imprisonment in 562 B.C. This work was essentially a compilation, embodying large excerpts from earlier sources, which have been fitted together in an editorial framework. The work thus compiled consisted of the narrative part of the Hexateuch which belongs to the document known as JE, together with a form of Deuteronomy, and the greater part of the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as we know them. Another comprehensive work was compiled later by the Chronicler (about 250 B.C.), which surveyed the entire history, from a different point of view, from Adam to Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C. This is comprised in the Books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Like the former work, it is largely a compilation, resting upon earlier material; but the rewriting is much more considerable, the hand of the compiler being much more in evidence. In much the same way the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua have been compiled from earlier materials (partly identical with some of the sources included in the exilic (Deuteronomic) book of history). As one of the documentary sources which enter into the former work is peculiar to it, and extends not only through the Pentateuch but also into Joshua, viz. the so-called Priestly Code (P), we are justified in treating these books as a well-defined group which is clearly distinguishable from the Books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. Our first chapter will, therefore, be devoted to the consideration of the Hexateuch.

# CHAPTER I.—THE HEXATEUCH

## (PENTATEUCH AND JOSHUA)

*Literature.*—The articles *Hexateuch*, in Hastings' *D.B.* and the *Encycl. Bibl.*; *Pentateuch* in *Encycl. Brit.* (9th ed.); R. Kittel, *History of the Hebrews* (E.T.), vol. i. §§ 5-10 (1895); Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*[2], Lectures xi-xiii. (1892); J. E. Carpenter and G. H. Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, 2 vols. (1900); J. E. Carpenter, *The Composition of the Hexateuch* (1902); *The Hexateuch*, by A. Kuenen (translated by P. H. Wicksteed) (1886); *An Introduction to the Pentateuch*, by A. T. Chapman ('Cambridge Bible,' 1911); D. C. Simpson, *Pentateuchal Criticism* (1914); J. Skinner, *The Divine Names in Genesis* (1914).

*Commentaries.*—(Containing introductions dealing with the sources of the Hexateuch: S. R. Driver, *Genesis* (1903); A. H. M'Neile, *Exodus* (1908) ('Westminster Commentaries'); *Genesis* (I.C.C.), by J. Skinner (1910); S. R. Driver, *Exodus* ('Cambridge Bible,' 1911); H. G. Mitchell, *The World before Abraham* (on Gen. i.-xi., with a useful introduction on the Pentateuch) (1901); G. B. Gray, *Numbers* (I.C.C.) (1903); S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (same series) (1895); A. H. M'Neile, *Numbers* ('Cambridge Bible,' 1911); A. T. Chapman and A. W. Streane, *Leviticus* (1914), and Sir George Adam Smith, *Deuteronomy* (1918), in the 'Cambridge Bible, R.V.'; and in the 'Century Bible' Commentaries on *Genesis and Exodus*, by W. H. Bennett, *Leviticus and Numbers*, by A. R. S. Kennedy, and *Deuteronomy and Joshua*, by H. Wheeler Robinson; G. A. Cooke, *Joshua* ('Cambridge Bible,' 1914).

**The Pentateuch in general.**—When the compilation of the Pentateuch was first completed it was regarded as *a single work*, and is so referred to in the earliest notices that occur of it. Thus mention is made of it by the Chronicler (in passages which are directly his own composition) as *the Law, the Book of Moses* (II. Chron. xxv. 4), and *the Book of Moses* alone (II. Chron. xxxv. 12 f.). In these passages the Chronicler is undoubtedly citing from the complete Pentateuch, of which, it is worth noting, Moses is already regarded as the traditional author. In the late Psalm i. (ver. 2) 'His Law' certainly presupposes the Pentateuch, and perhaps the prophetical collection of Holy Scripture as well (*cf.* also Ps. cxix., which is a meditation on the blessedness of keeping the Tôrā in this sense).[1] When the completed Tôrā was first divided

[1] It has commonly been assumed that the Priestly Code (not the entire Pentateuch) is meant by *the Law* and *the Book of the Law* (Neh. viii. 2 f.), *the Book of the Law of Jahveh* (Neh. ix. 3),

into separate books is not certainly known. The division is at any rate older than the LXX.

The Tora, in spite of its division into five books, has always continued to be regarded as essentially a single work. To this work Genesis may be considered as introduction, and Deuteronomy as conclusion. The entire work has always been designated *the Law* (Heb. *ha-tôrā*) *par excellence*. In the New Testament it is referred to as *the Book of the Law* (Gal. iii. 10), *the Book of Moses* (Mark xii. 26), *the Law of the Lord* (*i.e.* Jahveh) Luke ii. 23), *the Law of Moses* (Luke ii. 20), *the Law* (Matt. xii. 5), and, simply, *Moses* (Luke xvi. 29). The term *Tôrā* does not strictly mean *law*. The word itself means originally *direction*, especially of an authoritative kind: and then *teaching*. It was in the first place applied to *oral decisions* given by the priests, especially in ritual matters; also to moral instruction imparted by them (*cf.* Hos. iv. 6). But the word was not confined in its application to the priest, as the interpreter of Jahveh's will. 'The prophet not only rebukes the sins which have been or are being committed, but *points out* what ought to be done; so that his preaching likewise may be called 'tora of Jahveh.'[1] In Isa. xlii. 4 *tôrā* is applied to the preaching of the Servant of Jahveh. Later the term acquired a special meaning as being applied to the book in which the authoritative teaching or direction, which was regarded as having come from God through Moses, was embodied. The word *tôrā* thus possesses a wider connotation than Law (*νόμος*). 'The legalistic element, which might rightly be called the Law, represents only one side of the Tôrā. To the Jew Tôrā means a teaching or instruction of any kind. It may be either a general principle or a detailed injunction, whether it be found in the Pentateuch, or in other parts of the Scripture—or even outside the Canon.'[2]

We are here concerned, primarily, with the term as applied to the Pentateuch, which is pre-eminently *the Tôrā*. But it is well that the larger meaning, which has never been absent from Jewish usage, should not be lost sight of.

Both Jewish and Christian tradition are unanimous in regarding Moses as the author of the Pentateuch[3]—a

*the Book of the Law of God* (Neh. viii. 18), and *the Book of the Law of Moses* (Neh. viii. 1), which was read by Ezra before the people, but see further Appendix, p. 145). The Deuteronomic Book found by Hilkiah is referred to as *the Book of the Law* and *the Law* in II. Chron. xxxiv. 15, 19.

[1] Kuenen, *Hexateuch* (E.T.), p. 178.

[2] Schechter in *J.Q.R.* viii. (1896), p. 2 f.

[3] According to one form of the Jewish tradition, Moses wrote the entire Pentateuch—the last eight verses of Deuteronomy (recording his own death and burial) 'with tears.' Another tradition makes these verses an addition by Joshua.

belief which was apparently shared by the Chronicler, *c.* 250 B.C. (II. Chron. xxv. 4, xxxv. 12 f.). As has already been pointed out, by *the Book of the Law of Moses* referred to in Neh. viii. 1 is probably meant the Priestly Code of the Pentateuch (not the entire Pentateuch).

At first sight Neh. xiii. 1 may seem to negative this view. The passage runs: 'On that day they read in *the Book of Moses* . . . and therein was found written that an Ammonite and a Moabite should not enter into the assembly of God for ever.' The prohibition referred to occurs in the Pentateuch in Deut. xxiii. 3-6 (and therefore *not* in P). But it is to be observed that this section of Nehemiah does not come directly from the memoirs (Nehemiah is spoken of in the third person just before); it, therefore, probably owes its present form to the compiler. We have already seen that *the Book of Moses* is a descriptive term applied by the Chronicler to the Pentateuch as a whole. If he wrote the present passage he would naturally describe a quotation from Deuteronomy as from *the Book of Moses* (*i.e.* the entire Pentateuch). But this proves nothing regarding earlier usage.

It is easy to see how the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole would grow up. 'Nevertheless'—to use Cornill's words—'it is entirely without confirmation in the Pentateuch itself. Neither by way of superscription, nor of introduction, nor otherwise, does the work itself claim to have been written by Moses.'[1] Moses is referred to throughout in the third person. The fact that certain *particular* passages claim to have been written by him—viz. the sentence of extermination on Amalek (Ex. xxiv. 4), the so-called 'second Decalogue' (Ex. xxxiv. 27), the itinerary (Numb. xxxii. 2), and the 'book of the law' (*i.e.* a legal code embodied in Deuteronomy) mentioned several times in Deuteronomy—rather suggests that these passages are distinguished from the rest by having been embodied in writing by Moses. In other words, the older tradition, embodied in the Pentateuch, expressly distinguishes certain specified passages, which it believes to have been set forth *in written form* by Moses himself from the rest of the Pentateuch.

A number of other indications, quite on the surface, make the authorship of the complete work by Moses or a contemporary quite impossible. Such are, *e.g.*, the use

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 34.

of expressions like *the Canaanite was then in the land* (Gen. xii. 6, *cf.* xiii. 7). In Gen. xiv. 14 it is stated that Abraham *pursued . . . as far as Dan*; but *Dan* as a local name, meaning the town so called, only became current at a later time (Judg. xviii. 29). In Gen. xxii. 14 there is an allusion, probably, to the sacred character of Mount Moriah as the site of the Temple. Again, such a reference as that contained in Gen. xxxvi. 21 ('before there reigned any king over the children of Israel') is incompatible with Mosaic authorship, as also is the citation in Numb. xxi. 14 of a *Book of the Wars of Jahveh* as 'authority for matters which must have been perfectly familiar to every contemporary of Moses.'[1] The larger part of the legislation embodied in the Pentateuch presupposes a settled agricultural community which can only have come into existence some considerable time after the age of Moses.

**The Critical Analysis of the Pentateuch.**—Obvious as such considerations are, the traditional ascription of the authorship of the entire work to Moses came down practically unchallenged till the seventeenth century. Then, for the first time, the conclusion was drawn in a work published 1655 by Peyrerius (died 1676), and afterwards developed by Spinoza (died 1677) in his famous *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* (1670), that the Pentateuch cannot be regarded as a single work, the coherent product of a single author at all. The presence of double narratives containing incompatible features (like the two accounts of creation in Gen. i. and ii.), dates and time-specifications which are mutually exclusive or contradictory, were noted in this connection by Peyrerius, who possessed a lively sense of the mass of heterogeneous elements of which the Pentateuchal literature was com-

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 35. Other phenomena of similar significance are the description of Canaan as *the land of the Hebrews*; the allusion to the extermination of the Canaanites by Israel (Lev. xviii. 24-27; Deut. ii. 12); the designation of the region E. of the Jordan as *beyond* (*on the other side of*) *Jordan* (*i.e.* from the point of view of the settled community *after* the conquest) (Deut. i. 1 and seven times again). *Cf.* also the phrase *unto this day* (Deut. iii. 14, etc.), which implies a much later time than that of the events recorded. In Ex. xvi. 35 reference is made to an event (the ceasing of the manna) which, according to Josh. v. 12, only took place after Moses' death.

posed. The problem thus indicated—the critical analysis, viz., of the elements which make up the Pentateuch, the determination of their character and mutual relationship, and the reconstruction of the stages by which the Pentateuch was developed into its final form—has only been solved after the lapse of some two and a half centuries.

The history of Pentateuchal criticism falls into well-defined periods, each of which can be distinguished by some dominating tendency embodied in a ruling critical hypothesis. In this way different elements of truth have been emphasised, which have at the last found their proper place in the final result.

(1) What may be called *the Earlier Documentary Hypothesis* was started by the publication anonymously in 1753 at Brussels of a book by a French physician, J. Astruc (died 1766), entitled 'Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse.' Having observed that certain chapters of Genesis were distinguished by the use of the divine name *Elohim* while others employed that of *Jahveh*, Astruc was able to distinguish an Elohim-narrative (Gen. i. and v.) and a *Jahveh* (*Jehovah*) *narrative* (Gen. ii.-iv.). As, however, the whole Book of Genesis could not be divided up on this basis, Astruc formed the hypothesis that ten smaller documents had also entered into the compilation—the whole twelve having been utilised by Moses, who compiled the entire book. Astruc's rather crude hypothesis was developed by Eichorn and K. D. Ilgen (in a volume published in 1798).

(2) *The Fragmentary Hypothesis* marked the next stage in the critical development. This was first propounded by an English Roman Catholic theologian, A. Geddes, in 1800. Geddes analysed the entire Pentateuch into a number of smaller and larger fragments which emanated from an Elohistic and a Jehovistic circle. Among these sources he included the 'journals' of Moses. This hypothesis was most fully developed by Vater (died 1826) in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (3 vols. 1802-1805). Vater regards the Pentateuch as having been formed about the time of the Exile. It is essentially a compilation of fragments of old documents which were then collected when they were in danger of being lost.

(3) *The Supplementary Hypothesis* marked a reaction against the excesses of the Fragmentary-theory. Its best representative is perhaps F. Bleek. According to this theory the basis of the Pentateuch is formed by a continuous historical work which dealt with the history from creation to the conquest of Canaan. This source is the work of the so-called *Elohist*[1] (composed in the reign of Saul). It contained the main part of the first four books of the

[1] Including what is now distinguished as the Priestly Code (=P).

Pentateuch and of the Book of Joshua, together with the account of Moses' death (Deut. xxxiv. 1-8). This was subsequently enlarged and revised, probably in the time of David, by a *Jehovistic* editor, who added new sections, and edited the earlier document as well. The last revision was carried out by the author of Deuteronomy (in the reign of King Manasseh). This writer composed Deuteronomy and revised the earlier composite work in a Deuteronomic spirit. The fatal defect of this theory was made manifest when it was shown that the supposed supplemental sections when detached and pieced together proved to belong themselves to a document which possessed a well-defined individuality of its own, and must have been originally an independent writing. Hence arose

(4) *The later Documentary Hypothesis* which was launched on essentially modern lines by Hupfeld (1853), who distinguished three independent documents which have been worked up into one by a redactor. The latest and most widely accepted form of the Documentary Hypothesis is represented in the works of Wellhausen and Kuenen.

Most modern critical scholars are now agreed that the Pentateuch is a compilation made up of four independent written sources, viz. : a Jahvistic work (=J), and a slightly younger work parallel to it, an Elohistic document (=E, identical with the 'second' or 'younger' Elohist of the earlier theories),[1] a Deuteronomic work (=D), and a Priestly work, the 'Priestly Code' (=P), which is identical with the so-called 'Foundation-writing' (*'Grundschrift'*) or 'first Elohist.'[2] About the extent and contents of these four sources there is essential agreement among modern scholars. But the age of the documents is still, to some extent, a matter of debate. More particularly, is P the oldest or the youngest element in the Pentateuch (Hexateuch)? Though it embodies to some extent a tradition of earlier usage, the majority of modern critical scholars are agreed that P represents the latest literary stratum in the Pentateuch (Hexateuch), and only became authoritative when it was (substantially in its present form) promulgated by Ezra in 444 B.C. [A document included in P,

[1] Apparently J and E had been fused before they were used as a source for the Pentateuch. In this combined form they are indicated by the symbol JE.

[2] Two entirely independent sources use *Elohim*, viz. : P and the narrative (parallel to J), which is now indicated usually as E.

but originally independent of it, is the so-called 'Law of Holiness' (= H), *i.e.* Lev. xvii.-xxvi.]

The dating adopted for the sources in the present volume may roughly be stated as follows:—

J in its original form *c.* 850 B.C. (a Judæan source).
E ,, ,, *c.* 750 B.C. (an Ephraimite source).
J and E combined (= JE) sometime before 650 B.C.
D (presupposes JE) promulgated 621 B.C.
H (Law of Holiness) midway between D and P.
P (which then included H) promulgated 444? or *c.* 390 (compiled substantially between 570 and 500 probably).

## § 1. Genesis.

**Title and Contents.**—The Book of Genesis derives its name from the LXX., where it bears the title *γένεσις κόσμου, the generation or origin of the world.*[1]

Its contents fall into two main divisions, viz.:

(a) *Ch. i.-xi.* 9 containing the accounts of creation and the primæval history. The story is carried down to the Deluge and the scattering abroad of mankind.

(b) *Ch. xii.-l.* contain the history of the ancestors of the Israelitish nation, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarchs. The narrative is carried down to the death of Joseph.

**Structure of the Book.**—The Book has been constructed in accordance with a definite plan which can be clearly traced. This is shown by the recurrence of the formula, *These are the generations* (Heb. *tôlĕdôth*, lit. *begettings*) *of . . .*, which appears no less than ten times in the Book (ii. 4*a*, the generation of heaven and earth; v. 1, of Adam; vi. 9, of Noah; x. 1, of the sons of Noah; xi. 10, of Shem; xi. 27, of Terah; xxv. 12, of Ishmael; xxv. 19, of Isaac; xxxvi. 1, of Esau; xxxvii. 2, of Jacob. As the formula in all other cases *introduces* the genealogical account (which immediately follows) it is probable its position in ii. 4*a* is not original, but ought to precede ch. i., to which it obviously refers as well as to ii. 4 f.).

The scheme of the Book follows a definite method. It

[1] This is deduced from the rendering of ch. ii. 4*a*: *αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.* The Jewish title (בראשית) from the opening (Hebrew) word has already been explained above.

gradually converges upon Israel. 'The attention of the reader is fixed upon Israel, which is gradually disengaged from the nations and tribes related to it; at each stage of the history, a brief general account of the collateral branches having been given, they are dismissed, and the narrative is limited more and more to the immediate line of Israel's ancestors. Thus after ch. x. (the ethnographical table) all the descendants of Noah disappear, except the line of Shem, xi. 10 ff.; after xxv. 12-18, Ishmael disappears, and Isaac alone remains; after ch. xxxvi. Esau and his descendants disappear, and only Jacob and his sons are left. The same method is adopted in the intermediate parts: thus in xix. 30-38 the relation to Israel of the cognate peoples of Moab and Ammon is explained; in xxii. 20-24 (sons of Abraham's brother Naḥor) and xxv. 1-4 (sons of Abraham's concubine Ḳeṭurah) the relation to Israel of certain Aramean tribes is explained.'[1]

**The Sources of Genesis.**—This unity of plan is due to the compiler who has selected and arranged his material in accordance with it. But the material of which the Book is composed is drawn from different sources, which can be traced throughout. One of the most striking indications of this is the presence of *double narratives*. The same event or a series of events is narrated in independent forms. Also the language and representation vary in a way that accords with the employment of different sources.

At the outset we are confronted with a double narrative of creation and the appearance of man upon the earth (ch. i. 1-ii. 4*a*, and ii. 4*b*-25). That the second account is not merely supplementary but proceeds from a different source appears clearly when the two are closely examined. 'The *order* of creation is different, the *phraseology and literary style* are different, and the *representation*, especially the representation of the Deity, is different.'[2] The second narrative has more primitive features, it is freer and more picturesque, and is without the set formulas of ch. i. Notice also that the creation of man (ii. 7) *precedes* that of beasts and birds (ii. 19) and of woman (ii. 21 f.). Contrast the order in ch. i. In the second account the representation of God is much more *anthropomorphic* (in the first, God creates by a series of words; in the second, He *moulds, breathes into man the breath of life*, etc.; He *walks* in the garden, *makes coats of skins*,

[1] Driver, *Genesis*, pp. ii. f. [2] Driver, *op. cit.* p. iii.

etc.). Of *linguistic* differences the most striking are the use of two different names for God (*Elohim* in the first account, *Jahveh* in the second); *create* in first account=*make* in the second. Notice also the schematic arrangement of the first account; the six days, the recurring formula *evening . . . morning, And God saw that it was good*, etc.; the doctrine of man being made in God's image is also a striking feature. Other duplicate accounts in Genesis are:—

1. The Deluge narrative: vi. 9-13 [wickedness of the earth]=vi. 5-8; vii. 1-5 [seven of every clean beast, and two of every unclean, to be taken into the Ark]=vi. 18-22 [*two* of all beasts without distinction to be taken].
2. God's covenant with Noah (viii. 20-22=ix. 8-17).
3. God's covenant with Abraham (xv.=xvii.).
4. Abraham and Sarah in Gerar (ch. xx.)=Isaac and Rebekah in Gerar (ch. xxvi. 1-11).
5. Abraham and Abimelech, the covenant at Beersheba (ch. xxi. 22-32)=Isaac and Abimelech (ch. xxvi. 12-31).
6. The origin of the name *Bethel* (xxviii. 10-22=xxxv. 9-15).
7. Jacob receives the name of *Israel* (xxxii. 22-32=xxxv. 9-13).
8. Two lists of the *dukes of Edom* (xxxvi. 15-19=xxxvi. 40-43).[1]

The two accounts of creation which have been examined above belong to two distinct documentary sources which can be traced through the entire Hexateuch.[2] The first belongs to the source now usually denoted by the symbol P (=Priests' Code; it is identical with the writing of the older Elohist). The parts of Genesis which belong to P are clearly distinguishable; they include, besides the creation-narrative (i. 1-ii. 4*a*), an enumeration of Adam's descendants through Seth to Noah (v. 1-28, 30-32); the Flood-story, with an account of God's covenant with Noah (vi. 9-22; vii. 6, 11, 13-16*a*, 18-21, 24; viii. 1-2*a*, 3*b*-5, 13*a*, 14-19; ix. 1-17, 28-29); an enumeration of nations descended from Japhet, Ham, and Shem (x. 1-7, 20, 22-23, 31-32); the line of Shem's descendants to Terah (xi. 10-26); an account of Abraham's family (xi. 27, 31-32); and wanderings (xii. 4*b*-5; xiii. 6, 11*b*-12*a*); the birth of Ishmael (xvi. 1*a*, 3, 15-16); the institution of circumcision (xvii.); destruction of the cities of the Plain (xix. 29); birth of

[1] *Cf.* in Exodus the double narratives of the revelation of the name *Jahveh* (iii. 13-15=vi. 2-7); of the directions concerning the Passover (xii. 1-13=xii. 21-27); of the feast of unleavened bread (xii. 14-20=xiii. 3-10); of the first-born (xiii. 1 f.=xiii. 11-16).

[2] For a fuller discussion of these see p. 59 f.

Isaac (xxi. 1*b*, 2*b*-5); purchase of Machpelah (xxv. 7-11*a*); a list of tribes tracing their origin to Ishmael (xxv. 12-17); Isaac's marriage with Rebekah, Esau's Hittite wives, Jacob's journey to Paddan-Arram to obtain a wife (xxv. 19-20, 26*b*; xxvi. 34-35; xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9); Jacob's marriage and life in Canaan (xxix. 24, 29; xxxi. 18*b*; xxxiii. 18*a*; xxxiv. 1-2*a*, 4, 6, 8-10, 13-18, 20-24, 25 [in part], 27-29); his change of name to Israel (xxxv. 9-13, 15); the death of Isaac (xxxv. 22*b*-29); the history of Esau (xxxvi. in the main); the removal of Jacob and his family to Egypt and their settlement there (xxxvii. 1-2*a*, xli. 46, xlvi. 6-27, xlvii. 5-6*a*, 7-11, 27*b*); Jacob's adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh (xlviii. 3-6 [7]); his farewell speech to his sons (part), and burial (xlix. 1*a*, 28*b*-33, l. 12-13).

After P is subtracted there still remains a narrative which bears marks of being composite in character. The second of the creation accounts examined above belongs to a source which uses the divine name Jahveh. This is *the Jahvistic narrative* (J) which is the oldest stratum (both in literary formation and contents) of the historical sources. But another source (E), parallel to this, and somewhat younger, appears (first in ch. xv. or xx.) which uses the divine name of *Elohim*. These sources often appear in a combined form (JE) which it is not always possible to analyse into its component parts with absolute certainty.[1]

If what has already been assigned to P is left out of account, the rest of the primæval history (ch. i.-xi.) belongs to J.

In the next division of the Book (ch. xii.-xxvi., the history of Abraham and Isaac) the remainder is drawn from both J and E (the latter appearing for the first time in ch. xv.); and the same is true of the other divisions (ch. xxvii.-xxxv., Jacob and Esau; and ch. xxxvii.-l., Joseph).

[1] E sometimes appears alone (*e.g.* xx. 1-17), as J does fairly often. 'The method of the compiler, who combined J and E together, was sometimes, it would seem, to extract an entire narrative from one or other of these sources (as xx. 1-17 from E; xxiv. from J); sometimes, while taking a narrative as a whole from one source, to incorporate with it notices derived from the other; and sometimes to construct his narrative of materials derived from each source in nearly equal proportion.'—Driver, *L.O.T.*, p. 12.

**The Interpretation of the Book.**—The old controversies which were waged on the historical value of the narratives embodied in Genesis have largely lost their point. Such questions as, *e.g.*, the literal accuracy of the order of events narrated in the story of the creation, no longer assume the importance assigned to them formerly. The narratives are approached from a different point of view. It is recognised to-day, in the light of fuller knowledge, that the material embodied in the Book is largely drawn from popular tradition, and has affinities with the traditions and beliefs of other Semitic peoples. This is especially apparent in the early chapters which deal with the primæval history. Here we meet with culture and other forms of legend which can be illustrated from Assyrian and Babylonian sources, for instance. But the result of such comparison has been *to enhance the religious value* of the Hebrew narratives. The material of popular tradition has been made the vehicle for elevating the moral sense, and for inculcating high religious and ethical ideas. No more effective method for elevating and refining the religious sense of a people could be devised than that of infusing its traditional literature with a lofty ethical spirit, and making it the vehicle for the inculcation of simple but profound lessons about God's majesty, uniqueness, holiness, and moral requirement. From this point of view the creation-narrative, for instance, remains to-day unique in literature as an impressive and majestic expression of the truth, affirmed by the religious consciousness, that the material universe is the creation of an Almighty and all-holy God. In the depth and purity of its religious ideas—in the religious spirit that pervades it throughout—the sacred literature of Israel is unique among the literatures of the world.

## § 2. Exodus.

**Title and Contents.**—The Book derives its name from the LXX. (ἔξόδος, Latinised form *Exodus*), which apparently deduced it from ch. xix. 1 ('in the third month of *the exodus* [τῆς ἐξόδου] of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt'). Its Hebrew title is taken from the opening words (וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת or, more shortly, שְׁמוֹת). The contents of the Book fall into two parts, *A.ch. i.-xviii.*,

which describes Israel's oppression in Egypt, the history of Moses and the deliverance of his people from oppression, issuing in the Exodus and the journey to Sinai: and *B. ch. xix.-xl.*, Israel at Sinai.

**Structure and Analysis of the Book.**—The Book is constructed on essentially the same lines as Genesis, the same sources, P and JE, having been utilised in its composition. But the redactional element is rather more prominent than in the case of Genesis. Three strata of this kind can be distinguished, viz.: editorial matter which is distinctively *priestly* in tone (denoted usually by the symbol $R^P$); this is of late date (450-300 B.C. about); editorial matter which is Deuteronomic in tone or language ($R^D$: 600-550 B.C.); and such as falls under neither of these heads ($R^{JE}$; *c.* 750-650 B.C.).

The following detailed analysis of Part I. will serve to illustrate the complex character of the narrative:—

**Part I.** (ch. i.-xviii.): (a) *i.-ii.* 22: *The early life of Moses*: (P i. 1-7, 13-14; E i. 8-12, ii. 1-23); (b) *ii.* 23-*vii.* 13; *the call of Moses*: (E iii. 1-6: J iii. 7-8: E iii. 9-15: J iii. 16-20: E iii. 21-22: J iv. 1-16: E iv. 17-18: J iv. 19-20*a*: E iv. 20*b*-21: J iv. 22-vi. 1: P vi. 2-vii. 13).

(c) *vii.* 14-*xi*: *The first nine signs*: (J vii. 14-18: P vii. 19-20*a*: E vii. 20*b*-21*a*: P vii. 21*b*-22: J vii. 23: E vii. 24: J vii. 25-viii. 4: P. viii. 5-7: J viii. 8-15*a*: P viii. 15*b*-19: J viii. 20-ix. 7: P ix. 8-12: J ix. 13-21: E ix. 22-23*a*: J ix. 23*b*-34: E ix. (24*a*) 35: J x. 1-7: E x. 8-13*a*: J x. 13*b*-19 (14*a* E): E x. 20-27: J x. 28-29: E xi. 1-3: J xi. 4-8: E xi. 9-10).

(d) *xii.-xiii.* 16: *The Passover and feast of unleavened bread; the dedication of the first-born and the departure*: (P xii. 1-20: JE xii. 21-27: P xii. 28: JE xii. 29-39: P xii. 40-51, xiii. 1-2: JE xiii. 3-16: the double treatment of the narrative is especially prominent in this section).

(e) *xiii.* 17-*xv.* 21: *The beginning of the journeyings; crossing of the Red Sea*: (E xiii. 17-19: P xiii. 20: J xiii. 21-22: P xiv. 1-4: J xiv. 5-7: P xiv. 8-9: JE xiv. 10: J xiv. 11-14: P xiv. 15-18: JE xiv. 19-20: P xiv. 21*a* (21*b* J)-23: J xiv. 24-25: P xiv. 26-29 (27*b* J): J xiv. 30-31: E xv. 1-18: P xv. 19: E xv. 20-21).

(f) *xv.* 22-*xviii.*: *From the Red Sea to Sinai*: (J xv. 22-27: P xvi. 1-3 (5?): J xvi. 4: P xvi. 6-24: J (?) xvi. 25-

33: P xvi. 31-36: P xvii. 1*a*: J (or E) xvii. 1*b*-2: E xvii. 3-6: J xvii. 7: E xvii. 8-16 and xviii).

**Part II.** (ch. xix.-xl.) is mainly concerned with the events at Sinai. Its subject-matter may be analysed in detail as follows:[1] (a) *the Theophany* (xix. and xx. 18-21: all JE except xix. 1-2*a*): (b) *Five groups of Laws*: (1) The Decalogue (xx. 1-17): two groups of laws contained in 'The Book of the Covenant' (xx. 20-xxiii. 33) viz.: (2) a series called *judgments* (Heb. *mishpātîm*) all expressed in hypothetical form (xxi. 1-xxii. 17): (3) Regulations regarding worship and religious festivals, xx. 22-26, xxii. 29-30, xxiii. 10-19: (4) A parallel series in xxxiv. 10-26; (5) A series of laws of a moral and ethical character, mostly negative in form: xxii. 18-28, xxiii. 1-9. (c) *Narratives connected with the covenant-laws* (xxiv. 1-11; xxxiii. 7-11; xxxiv. 1-5, 27, 28): (d) *Narratives connected with the Decalogue* ([xix. 7-8] xxiv. 12-18, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 29-35).

[The extreme complexity of the narratives contained in ch. xix.-xxiv. is apparent from the analysis. Apparently two (divergent) views are represented in the tradition, one which makes the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 1-17) the sole basis of the covenant, and another which connected the groups of laws contained in *The Book of the Covenant* with the covenant.][2] (e) *The sin of the people* (xxxii. 1-29, 35; xxxii. 30-34; xxxiii. 1-6, 12-23; xxxiv. 6-9 [Moses' intercession]): (f) *The Tabernacle and its ministers* (ch. xxv.-xxxi. and xxxv.-xl. Here JE completely disappears, and the entire sections belong to P or his school).

**Historical Value of the Book.**—It is necessary to understand the complicated structure of the Book in order properly to estimate the real significance of the narra-

[1] Full details of the sources cannot be given in this analysis. They must be sought elsewhere (*e.g.* in Driver, etc.).

[2] The Deuteronomic code of laws (Deut. xii.-xxvi.) is largely based upon and is an expanded form of the 'judgments' contained in Ex. xxi.-xxii. 17. It is possible that the latter in the original narrative of JE stood where D stands now. When D was added to JE the 'judgment' laws were combined, it has been thought, with the rest of E's laws at Horeb, and thus assumed their present place in the Book of Exodus. The 'judgments' collection (Ex. xxi.-xxii. 17) can hardly belong to its present position. It is a collection of case-law, which perhaps goes back to the priesthood at Bethel. It implies a long legal history and experience, and is obviously unsuited to form part of the laws on which the covenant at Sinai was based.

tives, and interpret them aright. It is highly significant, for instance, that the chapters which describe in detail the Tabernacle and its ministers (xxv.-xxxi. and xxxv.-xl.) emanate entirely from P. Such a section as ch. xviii., which almost wholly comes from E, judged from a purely historic point of view, possesses great interest and value. 'It exhibits to us a picture of *Moses legislating*. Disputes arise among the people; the contending parties come to Moses to have them settled; he adjudicates between them; and his judgments are termed 'the statutes and decisions (*Tôrôth*) of God.' It was the historic function of the priests to *give decisions* (*tôrā, tôrôth*) upon cases submitted to them, in matters both of civil right (Deut. xvii. 11) and ceremonial observance (ch. xxiv. 8); and here Moses himself appears discharging the same functions, and so laying the foundation of Hebrew law.'[1] [For the *Decalogue* and *the Book of the Covenant* more particularly *cf.* p. 55 f.]

## § 3. Leviticus.

**Title and general Character.**—The name *Leviticus* is a Latinised form of the Greek title Λευιτικόν, *that which pertains to or concerns the Levites.*[2] The Jewish title, derived from its opening word, is וַיִּקְרָא (תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים, 'law of priests' occurs also fairly frequently).

It is entirely derived from the Priests' Code (P): ch. xvii.-xxvi., however, form a distinct section with many independent features. This once, according to the critical view, existed in an independent form before it was incorporated into P. It is usually designated *the Law of Holiness* (symbol H).

**Analysis of the Book.**—The subject-matter of the Book may be grouped under five principal heads:—

I. Ch. i.-vii.: *The law of the principal types of sacrifice, with a final section of directions regulating the duties and privileges of the priests* ((*a*) the burnt-offering, Heb. עוֹלָה), ch. i.; (*b*) the meal-offering, (Heb. מִנְחָה or

[1] Driver, *L.O.T.*, p. 28.

[2] The adjective λευιτικός=*Levitical* occurs in the New Testament, Heb. vii. 11.

קָרְבָּן מנחה), ch. ii.; (*c*) the peace-offering (Heb. זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים), ch. iii.; (*d*) the sin-offering (Heb. חַטָּאת), ch. iv.-v. 13; (*e*) the trespass-offering (Heb. אָשָׁם), ch. v. 14-26=E.V. v. 14-vi. 7.

(*f*) *Directions regulating the duties and privileges of the priests* (ch. vi.-vii.—E.V. vi. 8-vii.) viz.: in sacrificing the burnt-offering (vi. 1-6), the meal-offering (vi. 7-11), the High Priest's daily meal-offering (vi. 12-16), the sin-offering (vi. 17-22): other directions, as to the ritual of the guilt-offering, on certain particular kinds of peace-offering, (the thank-offering, the vow and the voluntary offering), on fat and blood, etc., follow (ch. vii. 1-34), the whole being concluded by two subscriptions (vii. 35-36 and 37-38). The subscriptions refer to the section ch. vi.-vii. only.

II. ch. viii.-x.: *The consecration of the priests and their solemn entry upon office.* (Ch. viii., Aaron and his sons consecrated to the priesthood in accordance with Ex. xxix. 1-37: ch. ix., Aaron aud his sons solemnly enter upon their office: ch. x., the death of Nadab and Abihu: various directions as to priestly conduct in the sacrifice).

III. Ch. xi.-xvi.: *Laws concerning clean and unclean, and the Day of Atonement.* (Ch. xi., clean and unclean animals; ch. xii., purification after childbirth; ch. xiii.-xiv., leprosy (in man, clothing, houses); ch. xv., purification after uncleanness caused by certain natural secretions; ch. xvi., the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement.)

IV. Ch. xvii.-xxvi.: The Law of Holiness (H).—This group of chapters is in its general character similar to P; but there is an element in it which at the same time distinguishes it from P. This is shown partly in peculiarities of style and phraseology which recur, and partly in the presence of a certain tone and spirit. The phenomena which the chapters present are explained by the supposition that an independent—and in all probability an older—body of priestly legislation lies at the basis of ch. xvii.-xxvi., which has been incorporated in P—either by the compiler of P, or by a redactor writing under the influence of P—sometimes (as it would seem) with slight changes of form intro-

duced for the purpose of accommodating it to P, at other times interwoven with elements derived from P.'[1]

This older element which has been worked into P is distinguished from the latter by its use of expressions peculiar (or almost peculiar) to itself, and also by a characteristic method in setting forth the laws (especially in the prominence given to certain principles and motives). *Holiness* (partly ceremonial, partly moral), as a principle and quality marking out Israel, is especially prominent (*cf.* xix. 2: *Ye shall be holy; for I, Jahveh, your God, am holy;* xx. 7-8, 26; xxi. 6-8, 15, 23; xxii. 9, 16, 32). *Holiness,* indeed, is emphasised so strongly and insisted upon so urgently in these chapters, that it may be regarded as their most distinguishing feature (hence the name *Law of Holiness*).

The Holiness-collection has other marks which point to its originally independent character. Notice, especially, the miscellaneous character of its contents as compared with the careful grouping that distinguishes Lev. i.-xvi.; some of the subjects, also, which have already been dealt with in the earlier chapters of the Book are treated of again in H (*cp.* xvii. 10-14 [eating of blood] with vii. 26 f.; xix. 6-8 [disposal of the flesh of peace-offerings] with vii. 15-18; xx. 25 [clean and unclean animals] with ch. xi. In this connection, also, the parenetic ending in xxvi. 46 ('These are the statutes and judgments and laws,' etc) is noteworthy. The solemn hortatory close concludes, in exactly the same manner, the two other independent Pentateuchal Codes, the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. 20-xxiii. 33) and the legislative code embodied in Deuteronomy (ch. xii.-xxvi., xxviii.). See the endings to these collections, Ex. xxiii. 20 ff., and Deut. xxviii. The affinities of H with Ezekiel are also particularly striking.

The subject-matter of Lev. xvii.-xxvi. may be analysed cursorily as follows: *ch. xvii.,* the slaughtering of sacrificial animals—the place of sacrifice (central sanctuary) —eating of the blood forbidden—the flesh of animals dying naturally or torn by beasts not to be eaten; *ch. xviii.,* laws as to forbidden marriages and unchastity; *ch. xix.,* miscellaneous prescriptions regulating the re-

[1] Driver, *op. cit.* p. 44.

ligious and moral behaviour of Israelites; *ch. xx.*, penalties enacted for offences specified in ch. xviii. and xix. 3*a*, 31; *ch. xxi.-xxii.*, prescriptions concerning priests and offerings (regulating priest's domestic life, physical conditions when performing priestly functions, etc., the conditions to be satisfied by animals when offered in sacrifice); *ch. xxiii.*, a calendar fixing the periods of the great festivals, and in particular the days on which 'holy convocations,' *i.e.* solemn religious assemblies, were to be held. The following are the specified days: all Sabbaths, the first and seventh days of *Maççôth* (Feast of Unleavened Bread), the Feast of Weeks, New Year's Day (Tisri 1), Day of Atonement (Tisri 10), the first and eighth Day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Booths); *ch. xxiv.* 1-9, the holy lamps and the show-bread; *ch. xxiv.* 10-23, laws on blasphemy, etc.; *ch. xxv.*, the Sabbatical year and the year of jubilee; *ch. xxvi.*, idolatry forbidden; injunction to observe the Sabbath; hortatory conclusion to the code (vers. 3-45) with subscription (ver. 46).

As has already been stated above, ch. xvii.-xxvi. are marked by peculiarities of phraseology: *e.g.*, *I am Jahveh*, especially at the end of an injunction or series of such (nearly fifty times); *for I, J., am holy* (xix. 2; xx. 26, etc.); *to walk in the statutes* (xviii. 3; xx. 23, etc.); words used in a special sense: *e.g.*, *she'ĕr*, 'flesh'=*next of kin* (xviii. 12, etc.); *zimmā*, *evil purpose* (of unchastity), *'āmîth*, *neighbour*, etc.[1]

V. Ch. xxvii.: Appendix (P) on Vows and Tithes.

## § 4. Numbers.

**Title and Contents.**—The title *Numbers* is a translation of the LXX. Ἀριθμοί, adopted also by the Vulgate (*Numeri*). The Book is so called because it contains the accounts of two *numberings* of the people, the first carried out in the second year of the Exodus, the second in the fortieth. The Jewish name is derived from the fifth word in the opening verse בְּמִדְבַּר.

The narrative contained in the Book covers events from the second to the fortieth year of the Exodus. The Book opens on the first day of the second month in the second year; the departure from Sinai the same

[1] See the list in Driver, *op. cit.* pp. 45 ff.

month is related in x. 11-28; the arrival in the wilderness of Paran (or Kadesh), the mission of the spies, the defeat at Hormah are detailed in ch. xiii.-xiv.; in ch. xx. 1 the arrival in the desert of Zin (or Kadesh) in the fortieth year is recorded; Aaron's death (which took place on the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year: *cf.* xxxiii. 38) is related in ch. xx. 23-29.

The general structure of the Book is similar to that of Exodus, JE and P being employed as sources. But the fusion of the original documents is not so complete as in the earlier Book.

**Analysis of the Book.**—**I. Ch. i.-x. 10**: *A long extract from P dealing with the last injunctions and events at Sinai. Ch. i.*, census of males above the age of twenty years (603, 550 apart from the Levites who are appointed guardians of the Tabernacle); *ch. ii.*, the disposition of the camp and of the tribes on the march; *ch. iii.-iv.*, the Levites taken to assist the priests instead of the first-born; their number and duties; *ch. v.-vi.*, laws regarding the exclusion of the leprous and unclean from the camp, compensation for fraud, ordeal for suspected wives; of the Nazirite; the priestly blessing; *ch. vii.*, gifts of the twelve princes of the tribes at the consecration of the Tent of Meeting; *ch. viii.*, the care of the golden candlestick—the consecration of the Levites for their duties (vers. 5-22; *cf.* iii. 5-13)—their period of service (from age of twenty-five to fifty); *ch. ix.-x.* 10, the Passover (followed by the supplementary one a month later)—the cloud as a signal for marching and halting the camp—the use of the silver trumpets as signals.

**II. Ch. x. 11-xxii. 1: From Sinai to Moab**: (*a*) **Ch. x. 11-xiv.**, *from Sinai to Kadesh. Ch. x.* 11-*xii.* JE, the departure from Sinai—Hobab as guide—the ark on the march—the murmuring of the people at Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah—appointment of seventy elders—quails—Miriam's leprosy; *ch. xiii.-xiv.* (P + JE), the narrative of the spies (including the defeat at Hormah).

(*b*) **Ch. xv.-xix.**: *Laws and events which fall within the thirty-seven years' wandering in the wilderness.* Ch. xv. (P), a meal- and drink-offering to accompany every burnt- and peace-offering—offering of the first dough—sin-offering—Sabbath-breaking—fringes; *ch. xvi.-xvii* (P + JE), rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

Here the composite character of the narrative is particularly evident. In JE the event narrated is a rebellion of *laymen* (the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram) against the *civil* authority of Moses (his judgeship). They with their tents and households are swallowed up by the earth. (The JE parts of the narrative are xvi. 1*b*-2*a*, 12-15, 25-26, 27*b*-34). In P two strata of narrative appear to be combined. In one of these (xvi. 1*a*, 2*b*-7*a*, 18-24, 27*a*, 32*b*, 35, 41-50, ch. xvii.), Korah, at the head of 250 princes of the congregation (not all Levites), protests to Moses and Aaron against the limitation of priestly rights to the tribe of Levi on the ground that '*all* the congregation are holy.' The issue is decided before the sanctuary where Korah and his company are consumed by fire from Jahveh. Here the opposition is between the tribe of Levi and the other tribes. But a second (and, no doubt, later) stratum of the P narrative gives a different turn to the representation. Here (*cf.* xvi. 7*b*-11, 16-17, 36-40) Korah appears at the head of 250 *Levites* and protests against the exclusive priestly privileges claimed by the sons of Aaron (JE mentions only Dathan and Abiram, P only Korah].

*Ch. xviii.* (P), the duties and official rank of priests and Levites; their emoluments; *ch. xix.* (P), the rite of purification by means of water mingled with the ashes of a red heifer—how and when applied.

(*c*) Ch. xx.-xxii. 1 (P + JE), *Israel at Kadesh*: *their departure thence to the plains of Moab.*

III. Ch. xxii. 1-xxxvi., *Israel in the plains of Moab*: (*a*) *ch. xxii.* 2-*xxiv.* (JE), *the Balaam narrative.*

The composite character of the narrative here is evident on examination, and the same double character attaches to the oracles proper (ch. xxiii.-xxiv.) Dillmann assigns xxiii. to E and xxiv. to J. The tradition of the Balaam oracles is certainly old. Perhaps in ch. xxiv. the old traditional material has received a Judaic and in xxiii. an Ephraimitic impress.

(*b*) *Ch. xxv.* (vers. 1-5 JE; 6-18 P): the Israelites sin at Shittim — the zeal of Phinehas and its reward; (*c*) *ch. xxvi.-xxxi.* (all P): ch. xxvi. (the second census [601, 730 men above twenty years] exclusive of Levites); ch. xxvii. (the law of the inheritance of daughters where there is no son [daughters of Zelophehad]—Moses bidden to view the Promised Land—Joshua appointed his successor); ch. xxviii.-xxix. (a priestly calendar regulating sacrifices for each season); ch. xxx. (the law of vows); (*d*) *ch. xxxi.* (P), war of vengeance against Midian; (*e*) ch. xxxii. (P + JE), the trans-Jordanic region assigned to Gad, Reuben, and Manasseh; (*f*) ch. xxxiii.-xxxvi.

(all P) containing P's itinerary of the wanderings, etc. (xxxiii.), a description of the borders of Canaan (xxxiv.), the appointment of forty-eight cities for the Levites, and of six among these as cities of refuge (xxxv.); the last chapter (xxxvi.) directs that heiresses possessing landed property shall marry into their own tribe (to preserve the tribal territory intact).

### § 5. Deuteronomy.

**Title and Contents.**—The name Deuteronomy ('second Law') comes from the incorrect rendering given in the LXX. to Deut. xvii. 18 (τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο), for the words correctly rendered 'a copy of this law,' which were wrongly supposed to refer to the whole book. The Hebrew title is derived from the opening words of the Book: אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים or דְּבָרִים.

The narrative of the Book records events of the last month of the forty years' wanderings (i. 3, xxxiv. 8). But it is mainly occupied with the farewell discourse of Moses in which the laws that Israel is called upon to obey are set forth.

In detail the contents are as follows:—[1]

*Ch. i.* 1-5.—Historical introduction, describing the situation and occasion on which the discourses following were delivered.

*Ch. i.* 6-*iv.* 40.—Moses' *first* discourse (a review of events connected with the wanderings, concluding with an eloquent appeal in ch. iv. not to forget the great truths impressed upon them at Horeb).

*Ch. iv.* 41-43.—A short historical statement concerning the establishment of three cities of refuge on the other side of the Jordan by Moses.

*Ch. iv.* 44-49.—Historical introduction of Moses' *second* discourse (which embodies the legislation proper).

*Ch. v.-xxvi.*—The legislation consisting of two parts: (1) Ch. v.-xi., hortatory introduction developing the first commandment of the Decalogue, and urging upon Israel the general theocratic principles by which, as a nation, it is to be guided; (2) ch. xii.-xxvi., the code of special laws.

*Ch. xxvii.*—Injunctions (described in the third person) relative to a symbolical acceptance by the nation of the preceding code, after taking possession of Canaan.

*Ch. xxviii.-xxix.* 1.—Conclusion of the code (connected closely

[1] Slightly abbreviated from the table given in Driver's *L.O.T.*, p. 66.

with xxvi. 19), consisting of a solemn declaration of the consequences to follow its observance or neglect.

*Ch. xxix.* 2-*xxx.* 20.—Moses' *third* discourse, embracing (1) the establishment of a fresh covenant between the people and God (ch. xxix.); (2) the promise of restoration, even after the abandonment threatened in ch. xxviii., if the nation should then exhibit due tokens of penitence (xxx. 1-10); the choice set before Israel (xxx. 11-20).

*Ch. xxxi.* 1-13.—Moses' farewell to the people, and commission of Joshua. His delivery of the Deuteronomic law to the levitical priests.

*Ch. xxxi.* 14-*xxxii.* 47.—The Song of Moses with accompanying historical notices.

*Ch. xxxii.* 48.-*xxxiv.* 12.—Conclusion of the whole Book containing the Blessing of Moses, and describing the circumstances of his death.

**The general Character of the Book.**—Deuteronomy is utterly unlike the other Pentateuchal books. It possesses a marked individuality, and a character of its own which at once remove it from the category of mere compilations made up of excerpts drawn from pre-existent sources. Its literary independence is clear. We no longer have to do with a narrative which can be analysed into strata derived from JE and P,[1] but with a work which throughout is marked by a characteristic style and phraseology, and is dominated by a single purpose. The Book in its present form, as modern criticism has tended to show, is probably not the product of a single pen, but rather an expansion of an original work which is embedded within it. But whatever expansion has taken place is almost wholly Deuteronomic in character, and is conceived in and reflects the spirit of the original writing.

While the vocabulary of Deuteronomy presents but few exceptional words, its phraseology shows very distinct features. Words and phrases recur with remarkable frequency and stamp the book throughout with a peculiar character. This is so marked that a Deuteronomic colouring can at once be detected where, in later writings, the influence of the Deuteronomic school has made itself felt. One or two examples may be cited here :—[2]

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[1] Only xxxii. 48-52 and xxxiv. 1*a* 8-9 can be deduced certainly from P; xxxiv. 1*b*-7 shows traces of J's influence; and xxxi. 14-15, 23 goes back probably to an Elohistic basis.

[2] For a full list *cf.* Driver, *L.O.T.*, pp. 91 ff. (also his *Commentary on Deuteronomy*).

*To love* (with God as object), vi. 5, vii. 9, etc. (a characteristic principle of Deuteronomy); *a people of special possession* ('a peculiar people'), vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18; *A mighty hand and stretched out arm* (combination first on Deuteronomy) iv. 34, v. 15, etc.; *that I thy God may bless thee*, xiv. 14, 29, etc.; *with all thy heart and with all thy soul*, iv. 29, vi. 5 ('a genuine expression of the spirit of the book.'—Driver).

**Composition and Authorship.**—It is generally agreed by scholars that the 'Book of the law' which was discovered by Hilkiah in the Temple in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (621 B.C.), and which exercised so momentous an influence on the reforming movement that followed (*cf.* II. Kings xxii.-xxiii.), was identical with some form of Deuteronomy. The question arises how much—if at all—earlier than 621 B.C. was the Book composed? And in what relation does our present Deuteronomy stand to the Book found by Hilkiah?

In the space at our command it is only possible to indicate the probable answers to these questions. Full discussion of the points involved must be sought elsewhere. The Book probably emanated from the circle of the pious, who cherished the ideals of prophets, during the heathen reaction under Manasseh. The whole spirit and teaching of the Book presuppose the work of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The Book of Deuteronomy itself represents an alliance between prophecy and priesthood. The Book read by Hilkiah was probably a shorter form of our present Deuteronomy (it was read through twice in quick succession in a single day). When carefully studied, also, our present Deuteronomy shows marks of having been expanded.[1] Probably the original Deuteronomy contained the kernel of the legislative section (ch. xii.-xxvi.) together with an introduction and conclusion [the present Book is furnished with two long introductions in ch. i.-xi.].

The relation of the Deuteronomic Law-Code (xii.-xxvi.) with the legislation of P and JE is set forth in detail by Driver (*op. cit.* pp. 68 ff.). It has close affinities with the legislation embodied in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), and is in several features parallel to that in H (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.). There are also allusions to laws which are codified in some parts of P; but no trace of any *direct dependence* upon P can be said to exist.

[1] See further, Appendix, pp. 142-143, and *cf.* Cornill, *op. cit.* pp. 50 ff.

It cannot be disputed that the Book claims to be the testament of Moses himself, who is represented as delivering the discourses, which include the Law-Code, on the borders of the promised land. Must it, then, be regarded as a literary fraud? This question can be answered without hesitation in the negative. The original Deuteronomy, according to recent criticism, was simply a recast and a rewritten form of the legislation of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), which originally occupied in E the place now occupied by Deuteronomy in regard to the rest of the Pentateuch; *i.e.* the Book of the Covenant was, at first, associated not with Horeb, but with the plains of Moab. The author of Deuteronomy believed this to be the work of Moses. In recasting 'a collection of legislation, traditionally handed down to him as Mosaic, in the form of a freely composed speech of Moses, he only did what all historical writers have done, and to speak of his work as a literary fraud is out of the question; indeed, D cannot rightly be described even as pseudepigraphic.'[1]

**The Influence of Deuteronomy.**—Too much stress must not be laid upon Deuteronomy as a *code of Law*. It is something much more than this. Its true inwardness is a profound ethical and religious spirit which finds manifold expression and which determines the character of the entire contents, including the Law-Code itself. Thus obedience to the prescribed duties is to be the spontaneous outcome of the heart, which is filled with a passionate devotion to God, and not the result of fear or dread of punishment. Love to God is set forth in Deuteronomy as the all-compelling motive of right action and right conduct. The whole range of human duty and prescribed service is thus spiritualised and deepened.

The high ethical and religious power with which the Book is pervaded explains the profound influence exercised by it on later writings. Its characteristic phraseology was readily adopted by subsequent writers, and its influence is manifest on parts of Joshua, Judges, and Kings. Jeremiah's phraseology also shows abundant marks of Deuteronomic influence, which can also be traced in Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. [The literary implications of Deuteronomy imply acquaintance with JE,

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 64.

*but not with P*: thus Deuteronomy as JE regularly speaks of Horeb, not of Sinai: Horeb is never used by P. See further on this point Driver, pp. 76 ff.; Cornill, pp. 69 ff. For Deut. xxxii. ('Song of Moses') and xxxiii. ('Blessing of Moses'), *cf.* p. 54 f.]

§ 6*a*. Special Passages in the Pentateuch.

1. **The 'Blessing of Jacob'** (Gen. xlix. 1*b*-27).—This poem belongs probably to the oldest stratum of the Hexateuch, viz. J, and the *terminus a quo* for its literary formation will be *c.* 850 B.C.

The subject of the poem is *the tribes* who are represented by their eponymous ancestors, the sons of Jacob. 'As often elsewhere in Genesis (*e.g.* xvi. 12, xxv. 23, xxvii. 28 f.), the tribe is conceived as impersonated in its ancestor, and the ancestor foreshadows the character of the tribe.'[1] The tribes are passed in review and their various merits and demerits appraised. The poet places these estimates in the mouth of Jacob. (In a similar way, in the Song of Deborah [Judg. v.] and the 'Blessing of Moses' [Deut. xxxiii.], the tribes are passed in review. These should be compared.)

2. **The Red-Sea Song** (Ex. xv.), which belongs to E, may in its original form have been incorporated from an older source, 'perhaps from a collection of national poems.'[2] It has apparently undergone some expansion (*cf.* ver. 13—thou *hast* guided me; and ver. 17*b*, which points to some *fixed* abode of the ark, probably the Solomonic Temple). Dillmann and Delitzsch agree with Ewald in supposing that a Mosaic theme contained in ver. 1*b*-3 has been amplified later. Driver, however (*L.O.T.*, p. 27), regards the greater part of the song as Mosaic, and thinks 'the modification or expansion is limited to the closing verses.' Sievers, on metrical grounds, regards the original song as ending with ver. 12, and considers vers. 14-18 to be the work of a later hand. M'Neile (*Exodus*, p. 89 ff.) regards ver. 1 as old (J), while vers. 2-18 belong to a much later date.

3. **The little Songs in Numb. xxi.**—In Numb. xxi. 14*b*-15, 17*b*-18, and 27*b*-30, we have three song-fragments

[1] Driver, *Genesis*, p. 379. [2] Driver, *L.O.T.*, p. 27.

which are obviously of a venerable character (notice ver. 14 cites from the *Book of the Wars of Jahveh*). The traditional text is unfortunately mutilated. (1) Vers. 14*b*-15, containing some geographical data, cannot be elucidated with certainty; (2) Vers. 17*b*-18 is the so-called 'Song of the Well' (read with Budde the last clause of ver. 18, *from the wilderness a gift* instead of 'and from the wilderness (they journeyed) to Matranah'). Wellhausen, however, interprets the song allegorically of the conquest of the Moabite town *Beer* (= *Well*). (3) The longer third song, vers. 27*b*-30, is regarded by several modern scholars as originally only the celebration of some victory of Israel over Moab. All three songs must have been incorporated by E from an older source (the *Book of the Wars of Jahveh* mentioned above), and appear already to have been incomprehensible to him (from their great antiquity). They are fragments of the ancient popular poetry of Israel.

4. **The 'Song' and the 'Blessing' of Moses** (Deut. xxxii. and xxxiii.).—(*a*) By earlier critical scholars the so-called *Song of Moses* (Deut. xxxii.) was supposed to have been incorporated into JE (to which source xxxi. 14-23 and xxxii. 44 were assigned) by the compiler who already found it attributed to Moses. On this view its internal evidence would suggest a date some time in the reign of Jehoash or Jeroboam II. (*c.* 780 B.C.), when Israel had long been harassed by the Syrians (so Knobel, Schrader, Dillmann, etc.). But the general character of the 'Song' makes this view exceedingly difficult to sustain. 'It is now abundantly clear that the Song, though marked by many peculiarities in expression, yet cannot claim any originality in thought; it is largely a compendium of the prophetic theology steeped from end to end in reminiscences of the older prophets.'[1] It may be regarded as 'a prophetic meditation on the lessons to be deduced from Israel's national history' written, perhaps, in the age of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (so Driver).

(*b*) In the 'Blessing of Moses' (Deut. xxxiii.) we have a far more ancient composition. It is parallel in form to the 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. xlix.), though clearly

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 124 (Cornill places the composition of the 'Song' not earlier than the end of the Babylonian Exile).

younger than the latter (notice the tribe of Simeon has vanished, Reuben barely survives, and Levi has become the priestly tribe). The author appears to have been a North-Israelite, and the glorification of Joseph (ver. 17) suggests a prosperous period, like the reign of Jeroboam II., as the time of the original composition. It is not improbably the poetical embellishment of some series of utterances ascribed by popular tradition to Moses. It is preceded by an exordium (vers. 2-5) and followed by a conclusion (vers. 26-29) which are assigned by some critics to a later date than the main body of the poem (vers. 6-25).

5. **The two Decalogues and the Book of the Covenant** (Ex. xx. 2-17 and xxxiv. 10-26; Ex. xxi.-xxiii).—It is doubtful whether the so-called *Second Decalogue* (Ex. xxxiv. 10-26) which belongs to J is really, in any sense, parallel to the moral Decalogue in Ex. xx. 2-17 (E). It is more probably a fragment of a collection of covenant laws which (in J) correspond to Ex. xxi.-xxiii. (E), the Book of the Covenant.

The *Decalogue proper* (Ex. xx. 2-17) belongs in its present form to the younger element in E. But in an earlier form it goes back, doubtless, to a far greater antiquity, possibly, as has recently been argued afresh,[1] to Moses himself. In Deut. (v. 6-21) a duplicate version of it (with variations), as is well known, stands at the head of the Horeb-legislation.

As has already been pointed out above, *The Book of the Covenant* (Ex. xx. 20-xxiii.), which belongs to E, consists of two masses of legislation: (*a*) a series called 'judgments' (*mishpātim*) = Ex. xxi. 1-xxii.-17 (a collection of civil case-law), and (*b*) a series of regulations regarding worship and religious festivals = xx. 22-26, xxii. 29-30, xxiii. 10-19 (to which series xxxiv. 10-26 J [the 'Second Decalogue'] is parallel). Not improbably this 'Book of the Covenant' was originally preceded by a speech which we now read in Josh. xxiv. (in its original form from E), and which is designed to form an introduction to a concluding covenant immediately following it. It has

[1] In a striking paper, printed in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April 1908), by Dr. C. F. Burney, entitled *A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in early Times*. For a different point of view *cf.* M'Neile, *Exodus*, pp. lvi-lxiv.

already been pointed out that, according to one plausible conjecture, the 'Book of the Covenant,' *i.e.* Josh. xxiv. + Ex. xx. 20-xxiii. (in a more original form) stood in connection with Moses' last public appearance in the 'plains of Moab'; that Deuteronomy is a rewritten form of this; and that to make room for Deuteronomy the Book of the Covenant was displaced and connected with the Horeb-legislation in Exodus.

6. **The Melchizedek Narrative** (Gen. xiv.).—This narrative stands in complete isolation in the Pentateuch. It cannot be assigned to any of the sources JE or P. Its composition cannot well be placed before the Exile, and may well be later. Can it be regarded as historical? The answer to this question must depend to some extent upon the impression produced by the narrative itself. Certainly no external evidence from the inscriptions has yet come to hand which can be adduced in support of its historicity. There are features which suggest that it is of the nature of a midrash—a freely composed piece with a didactic aim, *e.g.* the number 318 (for Abram's servants) may have been derived by 'gematria' from the sum of the numerical values of the name Eliezer (1 + 30 + 10 + 70 + 7 + 200 = 318). The antiquarian air, too, of the opening verses suggests, rather, a learned interest of an archæological kind, such as a Jew living in Babylonia in post-exilic times might have cultivated. If this view is correct, Gen. xiv. will be a very late composition which was inserted into the text of the Pentateuch after its completion. 'The outline of the narrative may still be historical.'[1]

## § 6*b*. Joshua.

**Title and Contents.**—The Book of Joshua is so called after the name of the hero whose exploits it is largely concerned with.

The Book naturally falls into two parts:—

(1) Ch. i.-xii., the history of the conquest of Palestine west of the Jordan, and (2) ch. xiii.-xxiv., the division and settlement of the conquered territory.

**Analysis and Sources of the Book.**—The narrative part of

[1] See the matter judicially summed up in Driver's *Genesis*, pp. 171 ff.

the Pentateuch is completed by the history of events set forth in the Book of Joshua. In the latter the story is carried to its appropriate climax—the crowning of Moses' work in the conquest of the Promised Land by his successor. The documentary sources which are combined in the Pentateuchal Books—JE and P—also reappear in this book, but not exactly in the same way. It is doubtful whether J and E have been used independently. These sources appear rather to have been utilised in a combined and expanded form, which is, of course, younger. Further, this form of JE in Joshua, before it was combined with P, seems clearly to have undergone revision by a Deuteronomic editor ($R^D$) who is responsible for certain Deuteronomic additions to the JE narrative. These additions are chiefly concerned in demonstrating Joshua's zeal in carrying out Mosaic ordinances, especially the command to extirpate the Canaanite population. As a matter of fact, the actual conquest appears to have been accomplished much more slowly and gradually than this writer imagined.

In detail the analysis of the Book is as follows:—

(i) **Ch.i.-xii.** (here P rarely appears): *ch. i.-ii.* (i. and ii. **10-11** $R^D$; the rest of ii., viz. vers. 1-9 and 12-24 JE): preparations for the crossing of the Jordan—Joshua encouraged by God—the help of the 2½ tribes promised; *ch. iii.-iv.* (JE+$R^D$+P; the latter iv. **13**, 19): the passage of the Jordan and erection of commemorative stones at Gilgal; *ch. v.-viii.* (JE+$R^D$+P; the latter v. 10-12, vii. 1): Joshua circumcises the people at Gilgal—the Passover kept—commands as to conquest of Jericho—the city is taken and devoted—the expedition against Ai and the sin of Achan—capture of the city by a stratagem; *ch. ix.* (JE+$R^D$+P; the latter ix. 15*b*, 17-21): the stratagem of the Gibeonites; *ch. x.* (JE+$R^D$): conquest of *Southern Canaan*—defeat of the five kings at Beth-horon—Joshua's other successes; *ch. xi.* (mainly $R^D$): conquest of *Northern Canaan*—defeat of Jabin, king of Hazor, and his allies at the waters of Merom—review of Joshua's entire series of successes; *ch. xii.* ($R^D$): a supplementary list of the kings defeated by Israel (Sihon and Og on East Jordan, and thirty-one kings slain under Joshua in West Palestine).

(ii) **Ch. xiii.-xxiv.**—*The allotment of the land.*—*Ch. xiii.* ($R^D$ vers. 1-12, 14, 33; P vers. 15-32, nearly all; JE ver. 13): Joshua is commissioned to allot the land W. of the Jordan among the 9½ tribes—the region E. of the Jordan allotted to the 2½ tribes is exactly defined; *ch. xiv.* (P vers. 1-5; JE expanded by $R^D$ vers. 6-15): bestowal of Hebron upon Caleb; *ch. xv.* (P vers. 1-13, 20-44, 48-62; JE vers. 14-19, 43-47, 63): the borders of Judah—the conquest of Hebron and Kirjath-Sepher—the cities

of Judah; *ch. xvi.-xvii.* (JE+P: mainly JE): Ephraim and Manasseh (their borders); *ch. xviii.* (P vers. 1, 11-28: JE vers. 2-6, 8-10; $R^D$ ver. 7): erection of the sanctuary at Shiloh and the assembly there—the rest of the land is surveyed, divided into seven portions and allotted. Benjamin's territory; *ch. xix.* (P vers. 1-8, 10-46, 48, 51; JE vers. 9, 47, 49-50): the territory assigned to Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan. Joshua obtains Timnath-serah; *ch. xx.* (P vers. 1-3, 6*a*, 7-9; $R^D$ vers. 4-5, 6*b*): appointment of six cities of refuge; *ch. xxi.* (P vers. 1-42; $R^D$ vers. 43-45): 48 cities assigned to the tribe of Levi; *ch. xxii.* (P in a much revised form, vers. 9-34; $R^D$ vers. 1-6 (7-8?): the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes dismissed — dispute on account of the altar erected by them at point where they crossed the Jordan; *ch. xxiii.* ($R^D$ mainly); Joshua's farewell exhortation to all Israel [a later Deuteronomic supplement to the following chapter, xxiv.]; *ch. xxiv.* (E vers. 1-11*a*, 11*c*-12, 14-30, 32-33; $R^D$ vers. 11*b*, 13, 31): meeting at Shechem—Joshua's farewell speech, and the solemn engagement by the people to cling to Jahveh. Joseph's bones buried in Shechem. Joshua and Eleazar die.

The analysis of the Book reveals some striking features. In the first twelve chapters P almost completely disappears, but in the last twelve is prominent again. The work of the Deuteronomic revision also plays an important part. In some cases this element has displaced older material (*e.g.* in ch. i.). This has an important bearing upon the question of the historical value of different parts of the Book. 'Historical matter, as such, is not that in which [the Deuteronomic editor] is primarily interested.'[1] He is interested, rather, in Joshua as an exponent and exemplar of Deuteronomic ideas. He tends to 'generalise and magnify'[2] Joshua's successes. The conquest, in point of fact, was not achieved in the rapid way $R^D$ supposed, as can be seen from the old account in Judges i. In the second part of Joshua P presupposes the view of the conquest represented by $R^D$, and works it out to its logical conclusions.

The analysis of the sources in this book is in details uncertain. There appears to have been a much larger amount of revision and modification than in the Pentateuchal Books. It seems probable that the Joshua part of P was disjoined from the part embodied in the Pentateuch 'well before the time of Ezra' (Cornill), and has been much more freely revised than the latter.

[1] Driver, *L.O.T.*, p. 107. [2] *Ibid.*

## § 7. The Prophetical and Priestly Narratives of the Hexateuch.

The narrative which has been denominated by the symbol JE may, in contradistinction to P, be styled the *Prophetical Narrative* of the Hexateuch. The ethical and religious standpoint assumed in it is that of the prophets.

This narrative, as the symbol JE indicates, is in the nature of a compilation. It consists of excerpts taken from two originally distinct and independent historical works, which surveyed the patriarchal and Mosaic history from two distinct (though allied) points of view. It is important to remember that only *excerpts* from these narratives have been preserved in the compilation of the Hexateuch. The original documents are no longer extant in their entirety.

**Criteria distinguishing J and E.**—Are we justified in assuming the existence of two parallel histories dealing largely with the same subject-matter and from substantially the same point of view? Is it probable that two such narratives, largely resembling each other, should have come into existence at an early period, and later have been fused into a combined form? The answer to this question must be an unhesitating affirmative. While the analysis of the combined narrative JE into its original elements cannot, in particular cases, always be determined with certainty and in exact detail, yet there are a considerable number of cases where these documents stand out in clear outline and in unmistakable independence. The internal evidence of JE, also, necessitates its being regarded as composite in structure.

The following are some of the words and expressions which are characteristic of E as distinguished from J.[1] E prefers *God* (*'Elôhîm*)—though not exclusively—and *angel of God* where J prefers *Jahveh* and *angel of Jahveh*; E uses *Amorite* as the general name of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine, while J uses *Canaanite*; E uses Horeb, while J uses Sinai; in E the name of Moses' father-in-law is Jethro, in J it is Hobab; each as a rule uses a different Hebrew word for *bondwoman* (E prefers *'āmâ*, J *shiphḥā*). E also uses uncommon words sometimes (*e.g.* מֹנִים, *times*, Gen. xxxi. 7, 41; חדה, *to rejoice*, Ex. xviii. 9; חזה, *to see*

[1] *Cf.* Driver, *Genesis*, p. xiii.

—a very rare word in prosé, etc.). J has a preference for *Israel* as the personal name of Jacob (while E prefers *Jacob*); the expressions *Behold, now* (Gen. xii. 11, xvi. 2, etc.), *to call with the name of Jahveh* (Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, etc.), *to find favour in the eyes of*, are some of those characteristic of J.

**The literary Style and general Character of the Narratives of J and E.**—The work of J enshrines the masterpieces of Hebrew narrative-writing. In power of vivid portraiture, in painting a scene from the life, J is unsurpassed. With a few bold strokes he makes the picture live before our eyes. He never overloads the narrative with detail, and his writing is invested with the charm of spontaneity. There is not a trace in it of conscious art (cf., *e.g.*, Gen. xxiv., xliv.: both J).

E possesses less literary power. He has not so great a command of language, nor the wonderful power of vivid representation and delineation that so strikingly characterises the writing of J. But he can compose graceful and pathetic narratives which are not unworthy to stand by the side of those of J.[1] In the Book of Genesis both J and E linger long over the *sacred sites* and antiquities of Palestine which, in popular tradition, were bound up with sacred memories of the nation's ancestors, the patriarchs. The standpoint of E is distinctively the prophetical. He calls Abraham a 'prophet,' and pictures him as interceding, like a prophet, effectually with God (Gen. xx. 7). Moses, too, is invested by him with a prophet's character and mission (Ex. iii.), and is represented as holding intimate communion with God (Ex. xxxiii. 11; Numb. xii. 6-8). His tone is sometimes consciously didactic (cf., *e.g.*, Gen. l. 20, the moral of the Joseph-history). Another striking characteristic of E is his fondness for dwelling upon dreams as a channel of revelation (*cf.* Gen. xxviii. 11 f., xxxi. 10 f., xl.-xli., etc.). The standpoint of J is, also, prominently prophetical. 'Indeed, his characteristic features may be said to be the fine vein of ethical and theological reflexion which pervades his work throughout, and the manner in which his narrative, even more than that of E, becomes the vehicle of religious teaching' (Driver).

[1] Good examples of E's narration can be seen in Gen. xxii. (the sacrifice of Isaac) and xl.-xlii. (in the composite Joseph-narrative).

J traces the origin of sin and evil in the world (Gen. ii.-iv., vi. 1-8), God's providential work in counteracting the ruin of the human race by choosing out special men and a special race to become His possession upon the earth. A noticeable feature of J is his representations of the Deity, which are highly anthropomorphic. (Thus God *comes down* to see the tower of Babel, visits the earth in visible form, *cf.* Gen. xviii.-xix.; *meets* Moses and seeks to slay him, Ex. iv. 24, etc.)

**Dates of Composition of J and E, and their later Revision.**—The work of E is generally regarded by scholars as being of North-Israelitish origin. Its author was an Ephraimite (notice especially his interest in Joseph, who is the royal figure among his brothers, and in the holy places of Joseph—Bethel, Shechem, and Beersheba: the last much visited by Israelites, *cf.* Amos, v. 5, viii. 14). E's narrative thus belonging to the northern kingdom, suggests a time for its composition when the national life of the latter was vigorous, probably within the reign of Jeroboam II., *c.* 750 B.C.

The narrative of J suggests the work of a Judæan writer (though some scholars, as Schrader and Kuenen, would assign it equally with E to the northern kingdom). Notice J represents Abraham as dwelling in Hebron instead of Beersheba, and in the story of Joseph makes Judah (not Reuben) the spokesman of the brothers. If J was Judæan, the oldest part of his work probably was formed in the reign of Jehoshaphat, *c.* 850 B.C.

*Are the narratives of E and J to be regarded as each an essential literary unity?* Within our limits this question cannot be discussed. According to some modern scholars (Kuenen, Cornill, etc.) we must distinguish between the original work of E (= $E^1$) 750 B.C. and a revision of this made about one hundred years later (650 B.C. = $E^2$). Similarly J is regarded as being not a literary unity by many scholars.

The work of P offers a striking contrast in every way to the histories of J and E. It surveys the past from a different point of view—the priestly—and throughout is pervaded by an ecclesiastical rather than a human interest. Interest is concentrated upon the origin of institutions which have a theocratic character or importance. Otherwise P in the patriarchal history appears to be content with a bare outline baldly enumerating

persons and events. The same methods distinguish P's narrative when it deals with the Mosaic age. Moses' commission and the narrative of the Exodus are treated with a certain amount of fulness, but only the tabernacle and the cultus are described in minute detail.

**Characteristics of P's Writing.**—P's work is distinguished by careful systematisation. It is above all things logical and precise. There is a carefully constructed chronology, and the narrative develops in accordance with a well-defined plan, and by definite stages.[1] Genealogies and genealogical lists are a great feature. P's representations of God are less anthropomorphic than those of J and even E. All mention of angels and dreams is avoided. The style of P is marked by striking peculiarities. In strong contrast with that of J and E it is 'stereotyped, measured, and prosaic.' Fixed formulas are constantly employed, and the same expressions are constantly repeated.

The following are some of P's characteristic expressions[2]: *God* is uniformly used from Gen. i. 1 to Ex. vi. 2 (except Gen. xvii. 1, xxi. 1*b*); *kind* (Gen. i. 11, 12; Lev. xi. 14, 15, 16, 19) *to swarm*, (Gen. i. 20, 21; vii. 21): *this self-same day* (Gen. vii. 13 and often): *substance* (Heb, *rĕkûsh*), Gen. xii. 5, etc.: *throughout your* (*their*) *generations*, Gen. xvii. 7, 9: *people=kinsfolk* (*that soul shall be cut off from his people*, Gen. xvii. 14=Ex. xxx. 33, etc.); *between the two evenings* (Ex. xii. 6, etc.).

**Date of P's Formation.**—A number of arguments go to show that the Priests' Code cannot have been formed until after the age of Ezekiel. Earlier literature (including Deuteronomy) shows no proof of acquaintance with it, and the earlier legislation is often in conflict with it. 'The Priests' Code embodies some elements with which the earlier literature is in harmony, and which indeed it presupposes; it embodies other elements with which the same literature is in conflict, and the existence of which it even seems to preclude. This double aspect of the Priests' Code is reconciled by the supposition that

[1] *E.g.* God is revealed under three distinct names, *Elohim*, *El Shaddai*, and *Jahveh*: there are three successive covenants with Noah, Abraham, and Israel, each with its special sign, the rainbow, circumcision, the Sabbath (Gen. ix. 12 f., xvii. 11; Ex. xxxi. 13, 17), etc.

[2] See the full list in Driver, *L.O.T.*, pp. 123-128.

the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are *in their origin* of great antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code* that they belong to the exilic or post-exilic period. In its main stock, the legislation of P was thus not (as the critical view of it is sometimes represented by its opponents as teaching) 'manufactured' by the priests during the exile: it is based upon *pre-existing Temple usage*. . . . Hebrew legislation took shape gradually, and the codes of JE (Ex. xx.-xxiii., xxxiv. 10 ff.), Deuteronomy, and P represent three successive phases of it.'[1] P was probably formed between 570 and 500 B.C.

**Later Revision of P.**—The main body of P was undoubtedly published by Ezra (? after 400 B.C.; see Appendix, p. 145). But the text appears to have undergone some amplification later (subsequent to the time of Ezra). These secondary and younger elements are denoted by Cornill with the symbol $P^x$.

The fact that the LXX. of Ex. xxxv.-xl. exhibits a different recension of the text shows that P did not assume a fixed and final form till long subsequent to the time of Ezra.

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[1] Driver, *L.O.T.*, pp. 135 ff.

# CHAPTER II

## THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OUTSIDE THE HEXATEUCH

*Literature.—Judges*, G. F. Moore (I.C.C.); C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (1918); G. A. Cooke, ('Cambridge Bible,' R.V., 1913); also in the smaller Cambridge Bible (by J. S Black): *Samuel*, by H. P. Smith (I.C.C.); *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, by S R. Driver; *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Kings*, by C. F. Burney (1903); Commentaries on *Chronicles*, by Bennett (1894); W. E. Barnes (1900); W. A. L. Elmslie ('Cambridge Bible,' 1916); and E. L. Curtis (I.C.C., 1910); and on *Samuel*, by H. P. Smith (I.C.C.). The relevant articles in the Bible Dictionaries (under the names of the Biblical Book), and especially the article *Historical Literature* in *Encycl. Bib.* *Cf.* also G. A. Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah* (Clarendon Press).

### § 1. The Book of Judges.

**Title and Contents.**—The Book derives its name[1] from the national heroes whose exploits it records. It falls into three well-defined parts: (1) *ch. i.* 1-*ii.* 5, an introductory survey of the results of the conquest, and the state of the land when the period of the Judges begins; (2) *ch. ii.* 6-*xvi.*, history of the Judges; and (3) *ch. xvii.-xxi.*, an appendix describing two incidents belonging to the period, viz. the episode of Micah and the emigration of a part of the tribe of Dan to the North (ch. xvii.-xviii.), and the internal war between the rest of Israel and Benjamin owing to the outrage at Gibeah (ch. xviii.-xxi.).

The judges who are the subjects of notices in the Book are 13 in number (or rather 12, excluding Abimelech, who is not called a 'judge'), viz. Othniel (iii. 7-11); Ehud (iii. 12-39); Shamgar

[1] The name is the same in the Hebrew Canon (שֹׁפְטִים) as in the Greek (κριταί). But the Hebrew word has a much wider signification than 'judge.' It means not only *judex* but *vindex*, and was applied to the rulers who (before the rise of the monarchy) governed Israel in peace and championed its cause in war.

(iii. 31); Barak [Deborah] (ch. iv.-v.); Gideon (vi. 1-viii. 32); [Abimelech] (viii. 33-ix. 57); Tola (x. 1-2); Jair (x. 3-5); Jephthah (x. 6-xii. 7); Ibzan (xii. 8-10); Elon (xii. 11-12); Abdon (xii. 13-15), Samson (ch. xiii.-xvi). The judges as to whom only brief notices are given are sometimes termed 'minor' to distinguish them from the others who are called 'greater.' The former include Shamgar, Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon; the latter [Othniel] Ehud, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson.

**Critical Analysis of the Book.**—The critical analysis of the Book involves some very complicated questions which cannot adequately be discussed here. When critically examined the Book shows clear traces of having passed through more than one stage before it attained its present form. The kernel of the Book is the central part which deals with the history of the judges comprised in iii. 7-xvi. 21, to which ii. 6-iii. 6 forms an introductory section. Here it is at once clear that a series of older narratives has been fitted into a framework, which is distinguished by the regular recurrence in it of a fixed phraseology, and is articulated according to a definite scheme. The framework consistently represents a view of the history according to which it is marked by a regular movement of apostasy, subjugation, penitence, and deliverance. In the notices prefixed and added to the histories of the greater judges some such statement in effect regularly appears as the following: the people *did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh*; Jahveh, in consequence, *sold them* or *delivered them into the hand of* an enemy; the people *cried* unto Jahveh in their distress, who sent them a *saviour*; the enemy was *subdued* and *the land had rest* (*cf.* iii. 7, 8, 9, 11; iii. 12, 15, 30; iv. 1, 2, 3, 23; v. 31*b*; vi. 1, 6*b*, 8, 28; x. 6, 7, 10, 11, 33*b*; xiii. 1, 16, 31 *end*). This element is marked by Deuteronomic phraseology and the Deuteronomic spirit, and may safely be attributed to a Deuteronomic redactor or redaction ($R^D$). The hand of $R^D$ is clearly manifest in the introductory section (ii. 6-iii. 6), especially in ii. 11-19; but the entire section can hardly be his work: ii. 20-iii. 6 belongs to an older stratum. It is noteworthy, also, that no trace of $R^D$ can be detected in the accounts of the minor judges in ch. x. and xii., or in the history of Abimelech (viii. 33-ix. 57). From these facts the inference has been drawn, that there once existed a

Deuteronomic Book of Judges, which included histories of Othniel and the five greater judges (Ehud, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson,) but not of the minor judges, nor of Abimelech. It would thus have embraced the following parts of our present Book: ii. 6-19, iii. 7-30, iv. 1-viii. 29 [viii. 33-35] and parts of x. 6-16, xi. 1-xii. 7, and xiii.-xiv.

In what way did $R^D$ secure this result? It appears probable that he must, while keeping a good deal of old material, and subordinating it to his scheme, have deliberately rejected a certain amount of matter which belonged to older sources. Some of this, fortunately, was recovered by a later hand, and added to our present Book, as will appear.

**Material included in Judges which is older than $R^D$.**—The results reached by the critical analysis of the Book go to show (*a*) that the notices of the greater judges which have been fitted into the Deuteronomic framework are themselves composite in character, and therefore must ultimately have been drawn from older sources:[1] (*b*) certain parts of the Book that fall outside the Deuteronomic scheme belong to older sources. To these belong the old account embodied in i. 1-ii. 5; ii. 20-iii. 6, viii. 33-ix. 57 (the history of Abimelech), and xvii.-xxi. (mainly). The only parts, therefore, of our present Judges which can be supposed to be later (in literary formation) than $R^D$ are the notices of the minor judges. A brief examination of these older elements will, perhaps, make the points enumerated above, clear.

(1) The opening narrative (i. 1-ii. 5) is clearly old. It contains fragments of an account of the conquest of Palestine by the more or less unorganised efforts of individual tribes—not, it is to be noticed, by united Israel under Joshua's leadership. The success of the individual tribes is represented to have been by no means complete in all cases. This account agrees with a series of passages in the older parts of Joshua, and 'it can hardly be doubted that both Judg. i. and these notices in Joshua are excerpts from what was once a detailed survey of the conquest of Canaan.[2] The opening words (*And it came to pass after the death of Joshua*) are doubtless redactional (to link the narrative on to

[1] 'It is possible that the *Deuteronomic* compiler . . . adopted as the basis of his work a continuous narrative, which he found ready to his hand' (Driver, *op. cit.* p. 157).

[2] Driver, *op. cit.* pp. 153 f. (where further details are given).

Joshua). In reality the account is parallel to those in Joshua, and not a later sequel. The section ii. 20-iii. 6 also contains elements akin to i. 1-ii. 5.

(2) Coming now to the histories of the greater judges (and ignoring the Deuteronomic framework) we are confronted again with material which is undoubtedly old. There are features, also, which indicate that this old material is composite in character. A striking example of this is the story of Deborah-Barak embodied in ch. iv.-v. The great 'Song' (v. 2-31*a*) 'is the oldest and most important source we have for the history of the people of Israel' (Cornill).[1] The prose-narrative (ch. iv.) gives an account in several respects divergent from the representation of the 'Song.' The most important of these differences concerns Sisera. In the 'Song' Sisera is the leading personage, while in the prose-narrative he appears as the commander of the forces of Jabin, king of Hazor. The latter appears in Joshua xi. as the head of a coalition which was defeated by Joshua at the Sea of Merom. Thus, it would appear, two traditions of separate events have been confused in Judg. iv. viz. : (1) *a history of Jabin*, according to which the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, under the leadership of Barak of Kadesh-Naphtali, defeated Jabin in the neighbourhood of Hazor. This tradition is the source of Josh. xi., which has been developed out of it; and (2) *a history of Sisera*, who with 900 chariots was defeated at Kishon by Israel under the leadership of Barak and Deborah, and in the rout is slain by a woman. This tradition is independent of that in the 'Song.' [Probably the confusion of the two accounts of two quite different events was due to the names of the two leaders Barak of Kadesh-Naphtali and Barak of Issachar. The fusion had already taken place when R$^{D}$ formed his Book of Judges.]

In a similar way the histories of Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah show signs of being composite narratives, as is also the case with the narrative about the Danites and Micah (xvii.-xviii.) and that contained in xix.-xxi.

Critical investigation has made it probable, if not certain, that the sources underlying the older strata of the Book really go back to the Jahvistic and Elohistic histories J and E. That the latter certainly did not intend to bring his narrative to an end with the death of Joshua may be inferred from the whole tone of Joshua's farewell discourse, which contemplates and looks out upon the future. Thus we have, in the older accounts already referred to, a fusion of J and E narratives. The old account, i. 1-ii. 5, is assigned substantially to J, and is

[1] The tradition which makes Deborah herself the singer of the Song (v. 1) is probably due to a mistaken interpretation of ver. 7, where render *until that she* (not *I*) *Deborah rose*.

perhaps the sequel of ii. 23-iii. 3 (in a more original form of the latter). Thus J appears to have narrated that Jahveh did not immediately expel the Canaanites before Israel, in order that Israel might learn the art of waging war in conflict with them. Then followed stories of such conflicts (embodied in ch. i.). To J also belong the main narrative of the history of Ehud (iii. 12-30), the Jabin tradition of ch. iv., the older part of the Gideon history (vi. 2*b*-6*a*, 11-24 and viii. 4-27), as well as of the Abimelech history (part of ch. ix.); the narrative about the Ammonites in ch. xi. and xii. 1-6, and finally the history of Samson (ch. xiii.-xiv.) apart from some slight later revision.

To E the following are assigned: i. 1*a*, ii. 13, 20-22*a*, iii. 5-6 (part of the Ehud story); the history of Sisera which has been worked into ch. iv.; the 'Song' in ch. v.; the younger elements in ch. vi. 1-viii. 3 and viii. 29 (the Gideon narratives), and parts of the Abimelech and Jephthah histories. In the same way the composite narrative in xvii.-xviii. can be divided between J and E. [Ch. xix-xxi. cannot be analysed with certainty. But it seems probable that some older elements have been worked up and combined with a quite late account, akin to P.]

**The Chronology of the Book.**—The chronological system of the Book cannot, as it stands, be reconciled with other data. It yields a total for the period of the judges (410 years) which is much too high to be adjusted to the notice in I. Kings vi. 1, which assigns 480 years to the interval between the Exodus and the fourth year of King Solomon's reign.[1]

**The Growth of the Book into its present Form.**—The pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges thus consisted of narratives formed by the union of J and E. It included i. 1-ii. 5, ii. 20-iii. 6, the narratives of the greater judges (excluding

[1] It has been contended that the chronological scheme is a purely artificial one, deduced from the history by a later redactor. The four hundred and eighty years, according to this view, were arrived at by counting twelve generations from the Exodus to the building of the Temple by Solomon (viz. Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, Saul, David), and assigning forty years to each ($12 \times 40 = 480$). *See* further Cornill, *op. cit.* pp. 168 ff.

that of Othniel), ch. xvii.-xviii. and xix. (substantially). Out of this material $R^p$ produced his Book of Judges, eliminating the material that did not harmonise with his view of the history (thus excluding i. 1-ii. 5, the story of Abimelech, and ch. xvii.-xix.). He further, according to one critical view, added Othniel to the judges, in this way giving the tribe of Judah a representative place [the Othniel section is Deuteronomic throughout]. This Book was then united to Joshua by ii. 6-8. Later this Deuteronomic Book of Judges was enlarged by a redactor dependent upon P, who restored the sections rejected by $R^p$ (which had been preserved in an independent work), added to xix. the final chapters xx.-xxi., and inserted the five minor judges.

## § 2. The Books of Samuel.

**Title and Contents.**—In the Hebrew Canon *Samuel*, like *Kings*, is reckoned as one Book. The Book of Samuel derives its name from the fact that Samuel is a conspicuous figure for a considerable part of the book from its beginning onwards.

In the LXX. the Books of Samuel and Kings were treated as a complete history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. This work was then divided into four books, which were entitled accordingly *Books of Kingdoms* [1, 2, 3, 4] (*βιβλοι βασιλειων*). In the Vulgate Jerome adopted the same division, only for *Books of Kingdoms* he substituted *Books of Kings* [I., II., III., IV.]. Hence it passed into Christian Bibles, and from them it was transferred to printed Hebrew texts of the Old Testament, with the difference, however, that in the Hebrew Bibles the names *Samuel* and *Kings* were retained: thus 1-4 *βασιλειων* or *Regum* became I.-II. *Samuel* and I.-II. *Kings*.

The history covered by I. and II. Samuel extends from the birth of Samuel to the closing days of David's life. The death of Saul marks the division between I. and II. Samuel. The subject-matter of the Book may be grouped under four main heads: (1) Samuel and the establishment of the monarchy (I. Sam. i.-xiv.); (2) Saul and David (I. Sam. xv.-xxxi.); (3) David (II. Sam. i.-xx.); and (4) an appendix (II. Sam. xx.-xxiv.).

The contents in detail may be briefly summarised as follows:—
**I. Samuel**: *ch. i.-iii.*, history of Samuel's youth; *iv.* 1-*vii.* 1,

defeat of Israel at Ebenezer—capture of the Ark by the Philistines—its subsequent fortunes; *vii.* 2-17, Samuel's marvellous victory by prayer over the Philistines—Samuel 'judge' over all Israel to the end of his life; *viii.-x.*, the elders demand from Samuel that a king be chosen—the Benjaminite Saul chosen by sacred lot at Mizpah, and proclaimed; *xi.*, Saul's success in rescuing Jabesh Gilead from the Ammonites leads to the renewal of the kingship; *xii.*, Samuel's resignation of his office of judge and solemn farewell; *xiii.-xiv.*, the first Philistine war—survey of Saul's achievements and family; *xv.*, war against Amalek—Saul's rejection; *xvi.*, David is anointed by Samuel—comes from Bethlehem to the court of Saul; *xvii.*, fight with Goliath; *xviii.-xx.*, David's relations with Saul, Jonathan, and Michal—his flight; *xxi.*, David with Abimelech at Nob—his residence with Achish in Gath; *xxii.*, David at the head of a band of four hundred outlaws in Judah—Saul's vengeance on the priesthood at Nob; *xxiii.*, David in Keilah—in the wilderness of Ziph—is betrayed by the Ziphites and only saved by a Philistine inroad; *xxiv.*, David spares Saul's life at Engedi; *xxv.*, David, Nabal, and Abigail; *xxvi.*, the Ziphites again betray David—David again spares Saul's life; *xxvii.*, David escapes to Achish, king of Gath, who assigns him Ziklag; *xxviii.*, war between Israel and the Philistines—Saul and the witch of Endor; *xxix.-xxx.*, David's vengeance on the plunderers of Ziklag; *xxxi.*, battle on Mount Gilboa and death of Saul.

II. Samuel: *ch. i.*, David learns of Saul's death—lament over Saul and Jonathan; *ii.-iv.*, David at Hebron—murder of Abner and, later, of Ishbaal (Ishbosheth); *v.*, David king over all Israel—captures Jerusalem—victories over the Philistines; *vi.*, the Ark brought to Jerusalem; *vii.*, David and Nathan; *viii.*, survey of David's military exploits and state officials: *ix.*, Jonathan's son Meribaal; *x.-xii.*, Syro-Ammonite war—David and Bathsheba; *xiii.*, Amnon and Tamar—murder of Amnon by Absalom; *xiv.*, Absalom recalled from banishment; *xv.-xviii.*, Absalom's rebellion; *xix.*, David returns to Jerusalem; *xx.*, rebellion of the Benjamite Sheba ben Bichri; *xxi.*, Gibeon and Saul's seven sons—list of particular exploits during Philistine wars; *xxii.*=Ps. xviii.; *xxiii.*, David's last words—list of his heroes; *xxiv.*, numbering of the people and pestilence—altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah.

**Critical Analysis of I. and II. Samuel:** (*a*) I. Sam. i.-xv.—As ch. xv. forms the transition to the history of David, and with it the *separate* history of Saul is brought to a close in his rejection by God, and the choice of his successor, it provides a convenient break in the subject-matter of the history, and for beginning the examination of the sources. There is, of course, no corresponding break in the continuity of these sources, which are presupposed in

varying degree and extent throughout the earlier historical Books. Here, as in Judges, the narrative on examination proves to be of composite character.

The analysis of the sources can be begun most conveniently with an examination of *the narrative of the origin of the Israelitish monarchy* contained in ch. viii.-xiv. Here it is apparent we have a combination of two independent accounts as to how Saul became king, which differ in their representation of Samuel and of his relation to Saul. The older of these narratives is made up of ix. 1-x. 16, 27*b* [as in the LXX.[1]], xi. 1-11, 15, and recounts Samuel's nomination of Saul as king, the latter's success against Nahash, king of Ammon, and coronation by the people at Gilgal. The sequel is contained in xiii.-xiv., which details how Saul immediately took up and prosecuted the war against the Philistines [here, however, xiii. 7*b*-15*a* is probably from another source, and vers. 19-23 seem to embody a less trustworthy tradition[2]]. This narrative describes how Samuel, a noted seer in a particular district, anoints the Benjamite Saul (whom he becomes acquainted with as the result of an accidental meeting), in order that Israel may have a warlike leader, and inspires him to act when occasion arises. The moment comes a month later when Jabesh Gilead is in dire peril from the Ammonite king. Saul summons a levy of Israel, relieves the town, is proclaimed king at Gilgal by the exultant people, and thereupon immediately prosecutes the war with the Philistines. It is worthy of note that throughout this narrative Saul's appointment is regarded favourably, and there is no hint of any reluctance on Samuel's part to see the monarchy established. The other and later narrative consists of viii. (the people's request for a king), x. 17-27*a* (Saul elected by lot at Mizpah), and xii. (Samuel's farewell address to the people). In the older narrative the sequence of events is incompatible with Saul's election by the people, as described in x. 17-27*a*. We are clearly confronted with two entirely independent representations. In the later account, also, it is to be noticed that Samuel is represented not as a

[1] The LXX. makes ch. xi. begin with the clause [*And it came to pass after about a month*] *that Nahash the Ammonite came up*, etc. (*cf.* R.V., margin).

[2] Also x. 8 probably belongs to a later tradition.

seer or prophet, but as a judge; the unworthiness of his sons for this office is the reason why the people demand a king; and Samuel is represented as viewing this demand with disfavour, as tantamount to the renunciation of Jahveh's sovereignty. The later narrative is regarded by Budde as Elohistic in character. It is probably pre-Deuteronomic, and has been influenced by some form of E. The older narrative may belong to J. The earlier chapters (i.-vii.) may be analysed into three sections: (1) ch. i.-iv. 1*a*; (2) iv. 1*b*-vii. 1, and (3) vii. 2-17. The last of these represents Samuel as a 'judge,' in harmony with the later narrative of the origin of the monarchy. This also belongs, perhaps, to a later form of E. Of the sections numbered (1) and (2), the latter does not appear to have been the original sequel of the former, whose principal theme of interest, the fate of Eli's sons, becomes only an incident in the national disaster recounted in ch. iv. f. Not improbably ch. i.-iv. 1*a*, was written as a preface to iv. 1*b*-vii. 1, to account for Samuel's importance as a *prophet*, and give particulars about Eli's sons. Thus the oldest of these three sections is iv. 1*b*-vii. 1; i.-iv.*a* belongs to a later hand, and vii. 2-17 to one later still.

Ch. xv. (Saul and Amalek) cannot be assigned to the old narrative which ends at ch. xiv. It would clearly be out of place after the formal conclusion of the account of Saul's reign (xiv. 47-51). At the same time its representation of Samuel as a prophet (not a 'judge'), who works by the power of the prophetic word, harmonises with ch. i.-iv. 1*a*. It thus stands midway between the old narrative (ix. 1-x. 16, etc.), and the later one (viii., etc.). It may, perhaps, be assigned to an early form of E.

The Song of Hannah (ii. 1-10) probably cannot be regarded as a very early composition. 'It is a psalm, like other songs of the Psalter, which only a literal interpretation of the metaphorical phrase in ver. 5 can have placed in the mouth of the mother of Samuel' (Cornill).

(*b*) I. Sam. xvi.-II. Sam. viii. (Saul and David).—In *ch. xvi.-xviii.* two independent accounts of David's introduction to Saul emerge. According to one, xvi.-14-23, he is a full-grown and experienced warrior, 'a man of war and clever in speech,' when he enters the king's service on account of his musical skill, and his success in

banishing the King's melancholia by means of the harp. This section may be regarded as the continuation of xiv. 12, and therefore be assigned to the oldest source J. The section xviii. 6-30, which describes Saul's growing jealousy of David on account of the fame he won by his exploits, harmonises with this account and is regarded by Driver as its continuation.

The other account is contained in xvii. 1-xviii. 5, and represents David as a shepherd-lad, inexperienced in warfare on his introduction to Saul. He attracts Saul's notice by a deed of heroism against the Philistines—the conflict with Goliath.

It is well known that the genuine text of the LXX. (cod. Vat.) exhibits a much shorter form of the text of ch. xvii.-xviii., omitting xvii. 12-31, 41, 50, 55-58, xviii. 7, 8*a*, 9, 12*a*, 13-16, 20-21*a*, 22-26*a*, 27-29*a*. Among critical scholars the point has been much debated whether these omissions were due to the fact that the LXX. translators had a different (and shorter) recension of the Hebrew text before them, or were deliberately made for harmonistic purposes. It is generally agreed that the (short) LXX. form of xviii. 6-30 represents a more original form of text. But Cornill has shown that the verses omitted by the LXX. throughout ch. xvii.-xviii. stand in organic connection with one another, and *form a continuous narrative*, 'so that no other explanation is possible than to recognise in them fragments of a further independent source-narrative, which was worked up into the Hebrew recension, but found no acceptance in the Alexandrine.' In the shorter (LXX.) form of xvii.-xviii. 5 David appears as already well known to Saul. Evidently a former part of the source here followed related how David, a mere youth, had been summoned to the court because of his musical gifts. He now offers to fight Goliath, and tells the king how he had rescued a sheep from a lion. Probably this (shorter) narrative belongs to the same source as ch. xv., viz. E, and its immediate sequel (xviii. 6-30) is part of the same narrative.

The immediate continuation of ch. xviii. follows in xix. 1-10*b* (where only vers. 2-3 are secondary).[1] On the other hand, xvi. 1-13, xix. 11-17, xix. 18-xx. 1*a*, and xxi. 11-16 (E.V. 10-15), which belong to the same source, cannot be assigned to either of the two main authorities E or J. It contains ancient and valuable material (notice

[1] David, warned by Jonathan, flees from Saul, visits Samuel at Ramah (xix.); again warned by Jonathan (xx.), he repairs to Abimelech at Nob, then to Achish at Gath (xxi.), and finally to the cave of Adullam (xxii.)

especially xix. 11-17) as well as other less precious historically. Ch. xxi. 11-16 (E.V. 10-15) may possibly, as Kuenen suggests, have been inserted in its present context with the object of displacing the parallel narrative in xxvii. (David at Gath).

It should be noted that xix. 18-xx. 1*a* (the origin of the proverb 'Is Saul also among the prophets?') is parallel with x. 10-12 (J).

In ch. xx. 1*b*-xxi. 11 we have again a fragment of the old narrative-source J (with some revision in xx., in vers. 4-17; vers. 40-42 are rejected by Wellhausen as secondary). Ch. xxi. 2-10 (E.V. 1-9) is assigned to E, and forms the immediate continuation of xix. 10*b* [for xxi. 11-16 (E.V. 10-15) see above]. But ch. xxii. (apart from some slight assimilation) belongs to J.

The last nine chapters of I. Sam. (xxiii.-xxxi.) are mainly concerned with *David's outlaw-life* (*a*) at Keilah (xxiii. 1-13); (*b*) in the wilderness of Ziph (xxiii. 14-29); (*c*) in Engedi, where he cuts off Saul's skirt in the cave (xxiv.); (*d*) in Carmel [David and Nabal] (xxv.); (*e*) again in the wilderness of Ziph, where he steals by night Saul's spear and cruse of water (xxvi.) Ch. xxvii. describes how David takes refuge in the country of the Philistines with Achish; then, how the Philistines resolve to attack Israel, and how Saul consults the witch at Endor (xxviii.), how David is dismissed by the Philistines (xxix.), David's vengeance on the Amalekite plunderers of Ziklag (xxx.), and the death of Saul and Jonathan on Mount Gilboa.

Here xxiii. 19-xxiv. 22 and xxvi. (Engedi) are probably doublets; xxvi. is the older narrative and belongs to J, while xxiii. 19-xxiv. 23 is to be assigned to E (xxiv. 14 is a gloss, according to Wellhausen). Ch. xxiii. 1-14*a* also belongs substantially to J, and xxiii. 14*b*-18 is an Elohistic parallel (revised) to ch. xx. (J).

The whole of ch. xxv.-xxxi. belong probably to J. The only passage about which any doubt arises is xxviii. 3-25. This section seems to be out of its original place (style and phraseology show that it belongs to J). In the Deuteronomic redaction of the Book it was probably suppressed, and later replaced, but out of its proper position, which would be between xxx. and xxxi. It is

generally agreed that the first five chapters of II. Sam. (i.-v.) belong, as a whole, to J.

The 'Song of the Bow' (II. Sam. i. 19-27), as David's lament over Saul and Jonathan is termed, is cited from the ancient collection of national poetry known as *The Book of Jashar* (see p. 80). It is without the slightest doubt the composition of David himself. The 'Song' is inspired by the deepest personal feeling, but is entirely destitute of the expression of religious sentiment.

Probably in ch. iii. vers. 2-5 are out of their original position (they interrupt the close connection of vers. 1 and 6*b*), and in ch. v. vers. 4-16 are similarly out of place (v. 17 should follow v. 3 immediately).

The analysis of II. Sam. vi.-viii. (the removal of the Ark to the 'city of David' (vi.); the prophecy of Nathan (vii.); summary of David's wars and list of his ministers (viii.) is more complicated. *Ch. vi.* should, perhaps, be taken in conjunction with ix.-xx. In any case it may be assigned to J. *Ch. vii.* belongs to a different category. It is Messianic in character, and some hold that it did not assume its present form before the time of Isaiah. Wellhausen assigns it to the seventh century (making it pre-Deuteronomic). In that case it may be derived from a younger Jahvistic (or Elohistic) hand. *Ch. viii.* is in form a short statistical survey, like I. Sam. xiv. 47-51, and is probably the work of a redactor. It may, as Budde infers, have been originally intended to take the place of II. Sam. ix.-xx., which in one form of the redaction of the Book may have been omitted in the supposed interests of David's reputation, but later restored. Ch. viii., however, is based upon trustworthy tradition. Wellhausen has conjectured that the interpolated passages iii. 2-5 and v. 13-16 originally belonged to this context.

II. Sam. ix.-xx. (with I. Kings i. and ii., which belong to it) contains a history of events in David's *court*-life, and has a concluding notice in xx. 23-26. It is a wonderfully vivid narrative of priceless historical value, which must largely be based upon the testimony of an eye-witness. Its present literary form belongs to J. The appended chapters, II. Sam. xxi.-xxiv., disjoin the narrative just described. All the same, a good deal of the material belongs to J.

Probably the dislocation arose thus: xxi. 1-14 (J) and xxiv.

originally were consecutive, and stood *before* ch. ix. (the incidents narrated probably belong to the beginning of David's reign): ch. xxi. 15-22 and xxiii. 8-39 are a later interpolation, and the poetical pieces (xxii. and xxiii. 1-7) latest of all. When ch. ix.-xx. were eliminated by a Deuteronomic editor, and replaced by ch. viii., he presumably retained xxi. and xxiv. on account of their theocratic character, and inserted them as a supplement to his panegyric in ch. viii. The later hand that restored ix.-xx., kept xxi. and xxiv. at the end of the Book (placing ix.-xx. between viii. and these): later, xxi. 15-22 and xxiii. 8-39 were inserted *between* xxi. and xxiv.; and later still, xxii. and xxiii. 1-7 between xxi. 22 and xxiii. 8. Thus 'a double interpolation has taken place in a section which is itself an interpolation' (Cornill).

**Growth of the Book.**—The whole of II. Sam. thus, with the exception of ch. vii. and viii. and the two poetical pieces mentioned below (together with some traces of E in ch. i. and possibly xxiv.) emanates from J: I. Sam., with the exception of some not considerable independent pieces, can be apportioned between J and E. It is noteworthy that with the death of Saul E suddenly disappears. The Book, like Judges, seems to have undergone a Deuteronomic redaction, when I. Sam. xxviii. 3-25 and II. Sam. ix.-xx. were cut out; but the Deuteronomic revision of the text was much less thorough than in the case of Judges, being limited to a slight revision of particular passages, and a cautious extension of the chronological framework. I. and II. Sam. must have assumed essentially their present form before the time of the Chronicler.

The Psalm in II. Sam. xxii. (=Ps. xviii.) is almost certainly a composite production. In the first part, 'a pious devotee of the Law is the speaker.' The second part can only be understood as the utterance of a warlike and successful king, and fits the circumstances of David. The two parts appear to have been accommodated to each other by a redactor who inserted them in Samuel: thence the psalm was taken, perhaps, into the Psalter.

II. Sam. xxiii. 1-7 ('the last words of David'), both in form and contents, belongs to a later age than the David-narratives: ver. 1 depends upon the Balaam-oracles, and vers. 6-7 suggests a comparatively late date. This piece was, no doubt, inserted at the same time as xxii.

## § 3. The Books of Kings.

**Title and Contents.**—The title and division of the Book have already been explained in connection with I. and

II. Samuel. Like the latter, *Kings* is regarded in the Hebrew Canon as a single book.

The entire work (I. and II. Kings) covers the history of Israel (later of Israel and Judah, and Judah alone) from the period of David's nomination of Solomon as his successor down to the release of Jehoiachin from prison in Babylon by Evil-Merodach in 562 B.C.

**Structure of Kings.**—This cannot be described more succinctly than in Professor Driver's words:[1] 'The structure of the two books is essentially similar to that of the central part of the Book of Judges; materials derived from other sources have been arranged together, and sometimes expanded at the same time, in a framework supplied by the compiler. The framework of the compiler is in general readily distinguishable. It comprises the chronological details, references to authorities, and judgments on the character of the various kings, especially with reference to their attitude at the high places—all cast in the same literary mould, and marked by the same characteristic phraseology. Both in point of view and in phraseology, the compiler shows himself to be strongly influenced by Deuteronomy.'

**Authorities referred to by the Compiler.**—One feature that distinguishes *Kings* from earlier historical works is the constant reference in it to certain authorities for particulars as to matters not recorded in the canonical compilation. These authorities are (*a*) for the reign of Solomon, the 'Book of the Acts of Solomon' (I. Kings xi. 41); (*b*) for the Northern Kingdom, the 'Book of the Chronicles (Hebrew *dibrê-ha-yāmîm*) of the Kings of Israel' (seventeen times—for all the kings except Jehoram and Hoshea); for the Southern Kingdom, the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah' (for all except five). What is the nature of these *Books of Chronicles* or *Annals* (Hebrew = *words* or *acts of days*) referred to? From the fact that a regular court official appears among the ministers of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah who bears the title of *recorder*,[2] it may fairly be inferred that official annals were kept in

[1] *L.O.T.*, p. 175.

[2] Hebrew *mazkîr*, literary *remembrancer*; *cf.* II. Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24; I. Kings iv. 3; II. Kings xviii. 18, 37; II. Chron. xxxiv. 8: *cf.* I. Chron. xxvii. 24; Neh. xii. 23.

which the achievements of the kings and personal details about them were set forth. It is, however, hardly probable that these state archives are to be understood by the authorities cited by the compiler. The latter is referring to continuous works, *i.e.* to historical compilations, in which the reigns of a succession of monarchs were surveyed (probably from a political point of view). The works in question may, of course, have been, and, no doubt, were based upon original documents and records, but are not to be identified with the latter. It should be noted that these authorities are referred to for *supplementary* information (of a political kind) not included in *Kings*; they can, therefore, hardly be regarded as *sources* of the Kings' narrative.

The compiler may very likely, however, have derived his *statistical* material from these works, viz. data as to the monarch's age on ascending the throne, the duration of his reign, name of his mother, etc. This statistical material is usually styled the 'Epitome,' which in *form* is doubtless the work of the original compiler himself.

**Composition and Authorship of I. and II. Kings.**—The compiler already referred to may be regarded as the real author of what substantially was our present Books of Kings. He was imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy, and wrote in the later days of the Judæan monarchy, perhaps in the reign of Jehoiachim, *c.* 600 B.C. To him must be ascribed the characteristic scheme for the survey of each royal reign which runs through the whole Book. This compiler, whom Kuenen denominates $R^{D1}$ (to distinguish him from a later Deuteronomic redactor, $R^{D2}$) will be the author of I. Kings i -II. Kings xxiv. (apart from some later elements) in the sense that he collected the great mass of the material and determined its main outlines. He himself presumably wrote the prophetical epitome already referred to, and incorporated into his work the other (older) sources referred to below. From II. Kings xxv. 30 it can be concluded that $R^{D2}$ can have written at the earliest in the latter half of the Babylonian exile; he must, of course, be regarded as the author of the last chapter, II. Kings xxv.

From $R^{D2}$ also, according to Kuenen, the following passages are to be derived: I. Kings iii. 3, 15; v. 4-5 (=iv. 24-25 E.V.); viii.

15-53; ix. 1-9; xv. 4-5; xvi. 7, 12-13; II. Kings xiii. 4-6, 23; xvii. 7-17 (vers. 19-20 and 29-34*a* form a later, and vers. 34*b*-40 the latest supplement of all in this chapter); xxi. 11-15; xxii. 15-20; xxiii. 26-27; xxiv. 2-4. Kuenen would also ascribe to $R^{D2}$ I. Kings xiii. and II. Kings i.

It is probable that $R^{D2}$ is responsible for the *synchronistic* notices which appear in the framework, and which he appears artificially to have deduced from the older chronology already present in the notices of the reigns. In that case he will have arranged the present sequence of Israelite and Judæan kings, which corresponds to the synchronistic notices (*cf.* Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 219).

[There are traces also of a later revision dependent on P, but these are not considerable.]

**Analysis and Sources of I. and II. Kings.**—For the purposes of critical analysis the Books may be divided into three parts: (1) I. Kings [i.-ii.] iii.-xi. (dealing with the reign of Solomon); (2) I. Kings xii.-II. Kings x.; and (3) II. Kings xi.-xxv.

(1) **I. Kings [i.-ii.] iii.-xi. (Solomon).**—As has already been pointed out, I. Kings i.-ii. form the immediate continuation of II. Sam. ix.-xx., and may at once be dismissed.

In ch. ii. vers. 2-4 clearly are due to the compiler, as also is the concluding formula respecting David's death and the length of his reign, which is given as it occurs at the end of all the royal reigns in Kings.

Solomon's reign is dealt with in greater detail than is the case with any later king. It occupies ch. iii.-xi. of I. Kings. The material here embodied is grouped in such a way that the central part of the narrative consists of the description of Solomon's buildings (ch. vi.-vii.), while on each side of this a series of narratives and short accounts, illustrating Solomon's wisdom and riches, is set forth. In ch. xi. some account of the opponents of the king is given preparatory to the division of the kingdom narrated in ch. xii. The parts of these chapters which belong to the Deuteronomic redaction ($R^{D1}$ and $R^{D2}$) are distinguishable without much difficulty. They include the following: ch. iii. 2-3 (disapproval of the 'high-places'; notice that the following narrative, ver. 4 ff., does not hint at any such disapproval); iii. 14-15, v. 4-5

(=iv. 24-25 E.V.); [v. 16*b*-19 = vers. 2*b*-5 in E.V.]; vi. 11-13; [vii. 47-49]; viii. 14-66; ix. 1-9 [xi. 1-13]; xi. 29-39; xi. 41-43.[1] What is left after the elimination of these passages may be regarded as, in the main, pre-Deuteronomic.

The work represented by this pre-Deuteronomic material seems to have consisted of a series of detached notices illustrating Solomon's wealth, magnificence, and political power, the central section being an account of his buildings (ch. vi.-vii.). At the end came a notice of political opponents who from time to time disturbed his reign (ch. xi. in its original form). 'Throughout the author evinces a warm admiration for Solomon. . . . The darker shades of the picture seem largely, though not perhaps entirely, to be due to the Deuteronomic compiler.'[2]

It is interesting to note in this connection that what appears to be an authentic utterance of Solomon regarding the dedication of the Temple is preserved in the LXX. of I. Kings viii., and is there expressly derived from an ancient source which probably is the *Book of Jashar*. The text appears in a corrupt form in viii. 11, 12 of the Masoretic text, but in the LXX. after ver. 53. It may be restored thus:[3]

*Then said Solomon:*
*The sun hath Jahveh set in the heavens,*
*But he hath determined to dwell in thick darkness;*
*Build my house, a house of habitation for me,*
*That I may dwell therein for ever.*

*Is it not written in the Book of Jashar?*

[For the last line the LXX. has οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς, which probably implies a scribal error of *ha-shîr* (*song*) for *ha-yāshār*.]

Thus *The Book of Jashar*, which is cited in Josh. x. 11 and II. Sam. i. 16 (J) as the source for certain poetical pieces, must have been a collection of songs, whose title may have been connected in some way with the honorific name applied to Israel —*Jeshurun*.[4] It will have been a Judæan work compiled in the time of the (early) monarchy.

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[1] The passages in square brackets are in the nature of a revision of older material; the others may be regarded mainly as the independent composition of the Deuteronomic redaction.

[2] Driver, *L.O.T.*, p. 183.

[3] *Cf.* Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Kings*, p. 111; and Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*[2], pp. 433-435.

[4] Some explain the title to mean *Book of the Valiant* or *Book of Heroes*.

(2) **I. Kings xii.-II. Kings x. (Israel and Judah).**—This section—forming the central core of the whole work—begins a comprehensive account of the entire history of the monarchy from the division of the kingdom. It is, in a real sense, a uniform literary work, the production mainly of one author, the Deuteronomic compiler. Everything is judged by the standard of the Deuteronomic code, and the information given is fitted into a framework which is marked by a stereotyped terminology. In each case a theocratic verdict is dealt out to every king, even to Zimri, whose reign only lasted seven days. The compiler is not primarily interested in purely secular and political affairs, and for details of such refers the reader to the historical works already discussed in a previous section. Apart from the framework which is easily distinguishable, and the short notices, which contain little more than a brief summary,[1] there are longer narrative-pieces which the compiler has admitted into his work and adapted to it. The first instance of such is I. Kings xii. 1-20, a vivid account of the council at Shechem and the division of the kingdom resulting from it. This is probably of Ephraimitic origin—notice the hostile description of Rehoboam as a hasty and inexperienced youth; it shows signs of affinity with I. Sam. xv., and may perhaps be related to E. In ch. xiii. we have a narrative of a different character (the prophecy against the altar at Bethel) which may have been inserted by $R^{D2}$. In any case it is 'not probably of very early origin' (Driver). Though it has been subjected to a thorough Deuteronomic revision, the groundwork of xiv. 1-18 (the wife of Jeroboam and the prophet Abijah) is probably old. [From xiv. 19-xvi. the narrative consists mainly of short notices written by the compiler.]

In I. Kings xvii.-II. Kings x. we reach the great collection of Elijah- and Elisha-narratives, which are among the finest examples of Hebrew historical writing in the Old Testament. These are probably not all from one source, but all appear to be of North Israelitish origin. The history of Elijah, embodied in I. Kings xvii.-xix., xxi.; II. Kings i. 2-4, 7*a*, may, however, belong to one source

[1] The statistical matter here embodied was probably taken by the compiler from the historical annals (*Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*, etc.) and written up in his own style.

[II. Kings i. 2*b*-16 is generally regarded as a later narrative, of much the same kind as I. Kings xiii. ; *cf.* I. Sam. xix. 18-24]. By the side of this prophetical history stands as a separate group I. Kings xx. and xxii., with which may perhaps be also ranged II. Kings iii. 4-27 (Jehoram and Jehoshaphat against Moab); vi. 24-vii. 20 (siege of Samaria by Benhadad ; relieved in accordance with Elisha's prediction); and ix. 1-x. 28 (containing a vivid account of the events that led to Jehu's succession). 'In all these narratives the political interest predominates over the biographical ; and some noticeable similarities of form and expression also occur.'[1] The Elisha-stories present less a history of Elisha than a 'series of anecdotal narratives.' They are introduced by the narrative of Elijah's ascension to heaven, where also Elisha's succession to the inheritance of his master is recorded (II. Kings ii. 1-18), and include also ii. 19-22 (the bitter waters sweetened); ii. 23-25 (the mocking children rent by bears); iv. 1-7 (the widow's oil multiplied); iv. 8-37 (the Shunammite woman); iv. 38-41 ('death in the pot'); iv. 42-44 (the barley loaves multiplied); v. (Naaman); vi. 1-7 (the iron axe-head made to swim); vi. 8-13 (the Syrians attempt to capture Elisha); viii. 1-6 (Gehazi recounts to the king of Israel the wonders wrought by Elisha); viii. 7-15 (Elisha and Hazael); to which must be added xiii. 14-19 (Elisha and Joash), and xiii. 20-21 (the miracle wrought by Elisha's bones).

These narratives may have been derived from a collection of traditional stories, compiled by different hands, of the lives of the prophets.

(3) **II. Kings xi.-xxv.**—In this section of the work (apart from what is due to $R^{D1}$ and $R^{D2}$) we now encounter a number of detailed *Judæan histories*. Here, in place of the prophets of the North Israelite narratives, the Temple and priesthood of Jerusalem assume special prominence. These accounts are contained in the following sections: (*a*) *xi.-xii.* 16 (Heb. 17) (the elevation of Joash to the throne, and the measures taken by him regarding the Temple); (*b*) *xvi.* 10-18 (the altar of Ahaz); and (*c*) xxii.-xxiii. 30.

[1] Driver, *op. cit.* p. 185.

Of the intervening matter, xiii. 14-19 (Elisha and Joash) has already been discussed; xiv. 8-14 (Amaziah's challenge to Joash) is probably of North Israelitish origin (*cf.* ver. 11); ch. xv.-xvi. are mainly occupied with short notices (except xvi. 10-18).

The sections numbered (*a*) and (*b*) above, and also (*c*) partly (*cf.* xxii. 3 f.), may not improbably depend upon a 'Temple-history' in which the Temple archives were utilised. Perhaps, however, xxii. 3 f.—which has a marked Deuteronomic character—is dependent rather upon xii., with which it has striking points of contact. It has been supposed that I. Kings vi.-vii. may also largely have been derived from this old 'Temple-history' [from this source also probably come I. Kings xiv. 25-28, xv. 16-22, as well as II. Kings xiv. 8-11, and xviii. 14-16]. In ch. xvii., after the close of the history of the Northern Kingdom, the Deuteronomic compiler (or compilers) proceeds to survey at length the causes which, according to his view, led to its downfall (xvii. 7-23), and gives an account of the origin of the mixed population of Samaria and their religion (xvii. 24-41). With ch. xviii. begins the reign of Hezekiah. Here vers. 1-12 in their present form are due to the compiler; vers. 14-16 (as stated above) are probably derived from the 'Temple-history' (Hezekiah's name in these verses is spelt differently in Hebrew from the form used elsewhere in Kings); ch. xviii. 17-xx. 19 recur in almost exactly the same form in Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix. They are probably in their original position here, and were taken from Kings for insertion at the end of the first complete collection of Isaiah's prophecies (see further in the section on Isaiah, pp. 96, 99 f.). The compiler's work increases in extent as the narrative approaches his own times. The greater part of ch. xxi. (Manasseh) is his work, which culminates in the long account of Josiah's reign with the finding of the Book of the Law and the ensuing Deuteronomic reformation (xxii. 1-xxiii. 30). The last two chapters are also Deuteronomic in character, ch. xxv. being the work probably of $R^{D2}$.

## § 4. Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.

The Books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah occupy a position peculiar to themselves among the historical books of the Old Testament. They form a second group which,

while parallel to the earlier series ending with *Kings* and covering almost the same historical period, are marked off from it both in style and point of view. They survey the entire history—from Adam to Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem (432 B.C.)—from a standpoint which may be described as ecclesiastical and priestly.

The books themselves 'form really a single, continuous work' (Driver).

This is made clear by various indications. The same very peculiar style, and the same standpoint from which the history is treated, prevail throughout. The same compiler's hand is, in fact, manifest all through. The fact that *Ezra*[1] verbally continues the narrative of II. Chron. xxxvi. (*cf.* II. Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, with Ezra i. 1-2) is significant in this connection. Thus the entire work (I. and II. Chron., Ezra-Nehemiah), which forms a single continuous narrative from Adam to Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C., was, doubtless, compiled by the Chronicler. That part of the Chronicler's work which supplemented the earlier historical books, viz. Ezra-Nehemiah, was detached and admitted into the sacred collection of Scriptures first; then, later, the rest. Hence the order in the Hebrew Canon: *Ezra-Nehemiah* and *Chronicles*.

### (*a*) The Books of Chronicles.

**Title and Contents.**—The Hebrew name is דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *i.e. Words* or *Acts of Days* (= *Annals*), and the work so called forms in the Hebrew Canon one Book. The division into two books came, as in the case of *Samuel* and *Kings*, from the LXX., where the book, so divided, is termed *παραλειπομένων α'* and *β'*. The title *παραλειπόμενα*, *i.e. things left over*, characterises *Chronicles* as a work supplementing the older canonical historical books, filling in what has been omitted from them. The Vulgate adopted the twofold division, and retained the LXX. title *Paralipomenon* (a gen. plural: *liber* understood). Jerome in the *Prologus Galeatus* suggested the title *Chronichon*: hence *Chronicles*.

**The Contents of I. and II. Chronicles** run parallel with those of the historical books from Genesis to II. Kings. The whole work falls naturally into four parts:—

(1) *I. Chron. i.-ix.* contains a series of genealogies

[1] In the Hebrew Canon Ezra-Nehemiah, like I. and II. Chronicles, forms a single book.

(with short incidental notices scattered within it) from Adam to Israel and Esau-Edom (i.); of the tribe of Judah (ii.); of the House of David (iii.); of Judah and Simeon (iv.); of Reuben, Gad, and East-Manasseh (v. 1-26); of Levi (v. 27-vi. 28); the levitical cities (vi. 39-66); Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, West-Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher (vii.); Benjamin and the House of Saul (viii.); list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ix. 1-34; vers. 35-44 = viii. 29-38).

(2) *I. Chron. x.-xxix.:* The history of David.

The reign of Saul is briefly referred to in I. Chron. x., and soon dismissed. In the account of David there are many omissions (*e.g.* incidents of David's youth, his persecution by Saul, etc.; most of what is recorded in II. Sam. ix.-xx. is ignored (as being of a personal or private nature).

(3) *II. Chron. i.-ix.: The reign of Solomon* (with some omissions) and

(4) *II. Chron. x.-xxxvi.:* The history of the kings of Judah up to the Exile.

After the division of the monarchy no account is taken of the Northern Kingdom (except where this is unavoidable, as, *e.g.*, II. Chron. xxii. 7-9). The interest of the compiler manifests itself especially in the ecclesiastical aspects of the history.

All through *Chronicles* (as well as through Ezra-Nehemiah) the special aim of the compiler is manifestly to give a history of *Judah* with special reference to the Temple, its priesthood and cultus.

**Date of the Work.**—As in I. Chron. xxix. 7 a calculation is made in *darics*—a Persian coinage first introduced by Darius I.—the composition of the work cannot be placed earlier than the Persian period. But Ezra-Nehemiah contain many indications that they cannot have been compiled till (at the earliest) the end of the Persian period, *i.e. c.* 332 B.C. A date a few years later than 332 B.C. is, therefore, adopted by some scholars. But if, as there is some reason to believe, the Davidic genealogy in I. Chron. iii. 19-24 is brought down to the eleventh generation *after* Zerubbabel, we are brought down well into the Greek period—perhaps to a date between 300 and 250 B.C.—as the time when the Chronicler wrote.

From the character of his work as a whole, and the special interest manifested in it in the music of the

Temple, it has plausibly been inferred that the compiler was himself a Levite, and perhaps a member of the Temple choir.

**The Relation of Chronicles to the other Historical Books of the Canon.**—If the Chronicler wrote at so late a date as *c.* 300 B.C., he must naturally have been acquainted with the older canonical historical books. And in fact his work does embody a considerable number of passages which have been excerpted from the historical books ranging from Genesis to II. Kings.

The Chronicler's method in dealing with this earlier material is not uniform throughout. In some cases he has condensed whole sections into a genealogical list. This is especially the case in I. Chron. i.-ix. On the other hand, in I. Chron. x.-II. Chron. xxxvi. (which is parallel to I. Sam. xxxi.-II. Kings xxv.), he generally cites passages without abbreviation, which agree word for word (with slight divergences) with the form they exhibit in Samuel or Kings.[1] In many instances the excerpts are supplemented by the insertion of verses, clauses, or longer passages; and there are a number of omissions.

A full comparative list is given by Driver (*L.O.T.*, pp. 487-493). The exact state of the case can, of course, only be fully understood by a detailed comparison and collation of the passages.

The character and aim of the *additions* made by the Chronicler are thus described by Driver:—[2]

'(1) They consist often of statistical matter, genealogies, lists of names, etc.

'(2) Very frequently they relate to the organisation of public worship, or describe religious ceremonies, especially with reference to the part taken in them by Levites and singers (cf., *e.g.*, I. Chron. xv. 4 ff., 16 ff.; xvi. 41 f.; II. Chron. xiii. 10 f., 14*b*; xvii. 8; xx. 19, 21; xxix. 4 ff.; xxxv. 1 ff., etc.).

'(3) In many cases they have a *didactic* aim: in particular, they show a tendency to refer events to their *moral* causes—to represent, for instance, a great calamity or deliverance as the punishment of wickedness or the

[1] Occasionally the Chronicler's text is superior to that of Samuel or Kings, exhibiting a better or more correct reading. But more often the alteration is due to the Chronicler himself.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 494.

reward of virtue. This feature is especially noticeable in the case of discourses attributed to prophets. The prophets in the Chronicles are far more frequently than in the earlier historical books brought into relation with the Kings, to whom they predict good or ill success, in accordance with their deserts, with much uniformity of expression, and in a tone very different from that of the prophets who appear in the Books of Samuel or Kings.'

One or two instances will serve to illustrate the above. Cf., *e.g.*, the cause assigned to Saul's death in I. Chron. x. 13 f. (*So Saul died for his trespass which he committed against the Lord, because of the word of the Lord which he kept not; and also for that he asked counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire thereby, and inquired not of the Lord; therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse*); II. Chron. xxxiii. 11-13 (Manasseh's repentance leads to his restoration); xxxv. 21 f. (Josiah's death at Megiddo explained by his rejection of a divine warning.)

For prophetic warnings, *cf.* II. Chron. xii. 5-8 (Shemaiah announces Shishak's invasion, which is to be mitigated in its consequences after the king's repentance); xv. 1-15 (Asa and Azariah); xvi. 7-10, etc.

**The Sources of Chronicles.**—Apart from the canonical historical books already referred to, the Chronicler used other sources for his additional matter, which he expressly appeals to. Probably the genealogies and lists with which his work opens are also largely based upon written sources. The sources expressly cited by the Chronicler fall into two classes: (*a*) historical, and (*b*) prophetic.

The *historical* sources cited are the following:—

(1) For the history of David, *the Chronicles of King David* (I. Chron. xxvii. 24), and *the later acts of David* (I. Chron. xxiii. 27).

(2) For Asa, a *Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel* (so also for Amaziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah[1] [with a slight difference in the Hebrew title]; *cf.* II. Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32.

(3) In the cases of Jotham (II. Chron. xxvii. 7), Josiah (xxxv. 27), and Jehoiakim (xxxvi. 8), a *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (*cf.* also I. Chron. ix. 1*a*).

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[1] 'The vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, in the *Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*.'

(4) In the case of Jehoshaphat (xx. 34), a *Book of the Kings of Israel* ('the words of Jehu, son of Hanani, which are inserted in the *Book of the Kings of Israel*').

(5) In the case of Manasseh (xxxiii. 18), *the acts of the Kings of Israel* (*cf.* also ver. 19, where another authority [prophetic] is cited).

(6) In the case of Joash (xxiv. 27), a *Midrash of the Book of Kings*.

[Probably (2), (3), (4), and (5) in this list refer to one and the same work which embraced a history of both kingdoms. It could not have been our canonical *Kings*, because it is cited for matters not mentioned there (*e.g.* I. Chron. ix. 1, genealogies); nor can it be identified with either of the authorities cited in *Kings*, because these were two *distinct* works, treating the history of Israel and Judah separately. Perhaps (6) was a work distinct from the above, of a comprehensive character, and written in much the same style and spirit as the work of the Chronicler himself. The term *Midrash* (which only occurs in II. Chron. xiii. 22 and xxiv. 27 in the Old Testament) is significant in this connection. The word means literally *investigation*, and was applied to a method of exegesis by which all possible hidden meanings and applications of Scripture were deduced. 'The Midrash may be defined as an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story.' This branch of literature has undergone a rich development in Rabbinical Judaism.[1] A good example is seen in the apocryphal book of Susannah. This is really a midrashic narrative suggested by the name Daniel (= *God is my judge*), and its object is to show how Daniel's judicial acumen justified his name. Midrashic tendencies can be detected in some of the later narratives of the Old Testament (*e.g.* Gen. xiv.; possibly I. Kings xiii.). The *Midrash of the Book of Kings* will therefore have been, probably, a history of the period of the Israelitish kings in which the history has been expounded in an edifying way, with expansions—similar, in fact, to *Chronicles* itself.]

The *prophetic* sources cited are the following:—

(1) In the case of David (I. Chron. xxix. 29), *the words of Samuel the seer*, and *the words of Nathan the prophet*, and *the words of Gad the seer*.

(2) In the case of Solomon (II. Chron. ix. 29), *the words of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Abijah the Shilonite*, and *the vision of Iddo the seer respecting Jeroboam, the son of Nebat*.

(3) In the case of Rehoboam (II. Chron. xii. 15), to *the words of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer for reckoning by genealogies*.

(4) In the case of Abijah (II. Chron. xiii. 22), *the Midrash of the prophet Iddo*.

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[1] Cf. *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (by Oesterley and Box), pp. 74 ff.

(5) In the case of Jehoshaphat, to *the words of Jehu, son of Hanani, which are inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel* [=(4) in the list of historical sources above].

(6) In the case of Uzziah (II. Chron. xxvi. 22), a writing of the prophet Isaiah (the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write': *cf.* the 'vision of Isaiah' cited for Hezekiah in (2) of the list of historical sources above).

(7) In the case of Manasseh, *the words of the seers* (II. Chron. xxxiii. 19: reading with the LXX. *ḥōzîm* for Masoretic text *ḥozai*).

[These various references probably do not imply separate writings by the prophets in question, but go back to a single comprehensive work; perhaps the sections quoted formed part of the *Midrash of the Book of Kings* discussed above.]

The **Style of Chronicles** is peculiar. It exhibits certain features of vocabulary and syntax which point to linguistic decadence. There are also a number of mannerisms which are peculiar to the compiler himself.[1]

To determine the **historical value** of the Book demands a discriminating judgment. Allowance must be made for the compiler's very special point of view in surveying the past. The Chronicler's survey is rather in the nature of a church history of Israel from the point of view of post-Exilic Jewish orthodoxy, than a mere narrative of events. 'The traditional material is refracted through a strange and foreign medium, the spirit of post-Exilic Judaism' (Wellhausen). His work is thus of value more particularly as marking a special stage in Jewish religious views, than as a purely historical piece of literature. Its place in the Jewish Canon suggests that it was never intended to be allowed to supersede the earlier historical books, nor indeed to be put on a level with them *as history*. In one department, however, his work is of great historical value, viz. in matters concerning the Temple-worship in post-Exilic times, and especially in details as to the Temple-music. Here the Chronicler speaks with the first-hand authority of an expert.

### (*b*) Ezra-Nehemiah.

*Literature.*—Commentary by Ryle (in Camb. Bible); and by L. W. Batten (I.C.C); for the history, P. H. Hunter, *After the Exile* (1890); [for the most recent critical discussion of the

[1] See the list in Driver, *op. cit.* pp. 502-507.

historical problems, *cf.* Kosters' article *Ezra-Nehemiah* in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, and the works of E. Meyer, Torrey, and Sellin.]

**Title and Contents.**—Ezra and Nehemiah form in the Hebrew Canon a single book—*Ezra.*

This appears from citations in the Talmud, as well as from the Masoretic subscription that follows Neh. xiii. 31. In the LXX. the books are still one, appearing as *II. Esdras* [the LXX. I. Esdras is a separate compilation]; the LXX. exhibits a text superior in some respects to the Masoretic text. Jerome divided the Book into two, viz. the first Book of Ezra and the second Book of Ezra (=our Nehemiah); the latter also went by the name of *Nehemia*, which gradually became the more common one. From the Christians the division into two books has passed into the printed Hebrew Bibles.

In order to be able to follow the sequence of events recorded in Ezra-Nehemiah, the following dates must be kept in mind.

*Chronological Table.*

| B.C. | B.C. |
|---|---|
| 539. Fall of Babylon. | 404. Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon). |
| 538. Cyrus issues a decree allowing exiles to return. | 398? Promulgation of the Law by Ezra. |
| 529. Cambyses. | 432. Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 6 f.). |
| 521. Darius Hystaspis. *Persian Period begins.* (521-332). | 424. Darius II. (Nothus). |
| 520. Haggai and Zechariah. | 404. Artaxerxes III. (Mnemon). |
| 520-516. Building of the second Temple. | 358-338. Artaxerxes III. (Ochus). |
| 490. Battle of Marathon. | 335-331. Darius III. (Codomannus). |
| 485-464. Xerxes I. | 351-331. Jaddua, high priest (Neh. xii. 11). |
| 464-424. Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus). | 332. Battle of Issus: Persian Empire overthrown by Alexander the Great. *Greek Period begins.* |
| 450-?. Prophecy of Malachi ('Trito-Isaiah'). | |
| 445. First visit of Nehemiah (appointed Governor) to Jerusalem (Neh. ii. 1). | |

The history included in the Book embraces the period from the issue of Cyrus' decree (538 B.C.) to the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem (in 432 B.C.). But it is not narrated continuously; details are restricted to certain points of time or occasions of importance: viz. the return and building of the Temple (536-516 B.C.), and the visits of Ezra and Nehemiah in 458, 444, and 432 B.C.

(1) **Ezra i.-vi.**: *The return and rebuilding of the Temple*

(ch. i., Cyrus' decree; ii., list of returning exiles; iii., altar of Temple re-erected—Feast of Tabernacles—foundation-stone of Temple laid; iv., decree prohibiting building of Temple—Rehum, Shimshai, etc.; v. 1-5, building of Temple resumed in 520 B.C. (at instance of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah); v. 6-vi. 12, correspondence between the satrap Tatnai and Darius; vi. 13-32, completion of the Temple in 515, and its solemn dedication. [A long interval of uncertain length is passed over in silence.]

(2) **Ezra vii.-x.**: *Ezra's mission* (vii., Ezra sent by Artaxerxes from Babylonia to Jerusalem as royal commissioner; viii., list of heads of families who journey with him. Arrival in Jerusalem: ix., steps against the foreign wives; x., assembly of the people—a commission chosen to deal with the mixed marriages. The narrative abruptly breaks off with an enumeration of the *men who had married strange women*.

(3) **Neh. i.-xiii. 3**; *Nehemiah's first Governorship* (i.-ii., Nehemiah, a Jewish cup-bearer of Artaxerxes, gets himself appointed Persian governor of Judah early in 444 B.C.; arrival in Jerusalem—night ride round ruined walls; iii., work of building allotted to various families; iv., regulations for protecting the work of building; v., social reforms; vi., wall completed after fifty-two days; vii., repetition of list in Ezra ii.; viii.-x., reading of *The Book of the Law of Moses*, and solemn engagement to observe the same; xi., every tenth man selected to be an inhabitant of Jerusalem. List of heads of families: xii. 1-26, list of the priests and Levites; xii. 27-43, dedication of the walls of Jerusalem; xii. 44-47, overseers appointed over the Temple-chambers; xiii. 1-3, separation of all foreigners.

(4) **Neh. xiii. 4-31**: *Notices respecting Nehemiah's second Governorship* (from 432 B.C. onward).

**Analysis and Sources.**—The episodic character of the work as a whole will be apparent from the brief *résumé* just given of its contents. The critical analysis of the Book makes clear that it is a compilation; and there is no doubt that the compiler is the Chronicler. In writing his narrative the compiler made use of some important sources, the most valuable being the personal memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, passages from which he quotes.

(1) **The first part of Ezra (ch. i.-vi.)** is a compilation which contains many marks of the compiler's hand. Ch. i. and iii.-iv. 5 are his work; ch. ii. (=Neh. vii.) is borrowed from the memoirs of Nehemiah (see below). Ch. iv. 6-vi. 18 (all but the first two verses [iv. 6-7] of this section are written in Aramaic) are of a different character. Here the Chronicler has made use of a special (written) Aramaic source, which contained the history of the building of the Temple and the city walls. From

this source Ezra iv. 8-22 and v. 1-vi. 16 have been taken verbally.

vi. 16-18, though written in Aramaic, must be the composition of the compiler, as the verses belong logically with vi. 19-22, which are undoubtedly the compiler's. The section iv. 6-23 has been misplaced by the compiler. It refers to the rebuilding not of the Temple, but of the city walls (some sixty years later). Its proper position would be, probably, between Ezra x. and Neh. i.

(2) **Ezra vii.-x.**—This section of the Book contains a long extract (vii. 27-ix. 15) which is written throughout in the first person, and which is so vivid and circumstantial that it is generally accepted as an authentic excerpt from Ezra's personal memoirs. From these memoirs the imperial firman given (in Aramaic) in vii. 12-26 will also have been extracted. The opening verses (vii. 1-11) are by another hand, probably the Chronicler's. The memoirs break off at ix. 15. What follows is by a different hand, but not the compiler's. It is probable that the compiler is not citing the memoirs directly, but as embodied in another work, to which Ezra x. belongs (see below).

(3) **Extracts from Nehemiah's Memoirs**: (*a*) *Neh. i. 1-vii. 5.*—At the beginning of the Book of Nehemiah we meet with a long section where the 1st pers. sing. is used throughout, viz. ch. i. 1-vii. 5. These chapters are indubitably authentic extracts from Nehemiah's personal memoirs. They are distinguished by individual characteristics which help us to form a distinct idea of the writer's personality. Enthusiasm for a great idea, and unselfish devotion to its realisation, are marked features. From v. 14 it is clear that the narrative can only have been put into its present form some years after the events recorded. Doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of vi. 15 (the walls finished in fifty-two days), but the objection is not a fatal one.

It should be noted, however, that according to Josephus (*Ant.*, xi. v. 8) the building of the walls lasted two years and eight months. On what authority Josephus bases this assertion is not known. [iii. 1-32, which contains a list of persons who helped to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, has also been the subject of doubt.]

(*b*) *Neh. vii. 6-73a.*—This section contains a list of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel, which Nehemiah

(vii. 5) says he 'found': it also appears in Ezra ii. with slight differences. It forms a natural and easy continuation of vii. 5, and probably from the first stood as a constituent element in Nehemiah's memoirs.

(*c*) *Neh. xi.*—This chapter, which contains a list of persons who drew lots to reside at Jerusalem, and other details regarding the settlement of the capital, also stood probably in the original memoirs. The list—which partly recurs in I. Chron. ix. 1-17—is to be regarded as the immediate continuation of ch. vii. (with Ewald) and refers to measures taken by Zerubbabel. Doubtless it was followed in the memoirs by an account of what Nehemiah did to resume and complete these measures (*cf.* vii. 4-5), but this has, unfortunately, not been preserved to us.

(*d*) *Neh. xii.* 27-43.—Account of the dedication of the walls. Notice the resumption of the 1st pers. sing. (vers. 31, 38, 40). This passage is an excerpt from the memoirs, but has been abridged and revised by the compiler.

(*e*) *Neh. xiii.* 4-31.—Another extract from the memoirs, giving details of a time some twelve years or more later than that referred to in the earlier extracts. It deals with Nehemiah's second visit.

(4) **Passages in Nehemiah not derived from the Memoirs.**—(1) *Ch. vii.* 73*b*-*x.* 40 (39).—This long section breaks the connection which, as is generally agreed, exists between vii. 73*a* and ch. xi. In its present form it is doubtless due to the compiler; but it contains so many details of apparently an authentic character, its representation is often so vivid, that it seems probable that the work of an eye-witness has been used and worked up by the compiler in producing the present narrative. Probably ix. 6-x. 40 has been taken over directly from the memoirs of Ezra (the LXX. ascribes the prayer beginning in ix. 6 to Ezra: 'And Ezra said'). The whole section, therefore, can be regarded as of first-rate authority.

(2) *Ch. xii.* 1-26.—A list of priests and Levites who returned with Zerubbabel. Notice how the priestly genealogy is carried far down below Nehemiah's time, as far, in fact, as the reign of Darius the Persian (ver. 22), *i.e.* Darius III., Codomannus (reigned B.C. 335-331). The high priest Jaddua mentioned in ver. 11 is known from Josephus to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

The sources used by the Chronicler in compiling Ezra-Nehemiah will thus have been (*a*) an Aramaic one, written not earlier than 450 B.C., which contained the history of the building of the Temple and the walls. From this Ezra iv. 8-22, v. 1-vi. 16 appear to have been taken directly.

(*b*) A work which *contained* the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah worked up into the narrative of a later author. From this work the Chronicler borrowed Ezra ii., and the main body of the whole Book, viz. all from Ezra vii. 12-Neh. xi. 36, as well as Neh. xii. 27-43, and xiii. 4-31. It is possible that this work is identical with *the Book of the Chronicles* referred to in Neh. xii. 23. [The rest of the Book is the composition of the Chronicler.]

(5) **Historical Value of the Book.**—On the whole, recent criticism has not been unfavourable to the older view as to the essential trustworthiness of the narrative of events given in Ezra-Nehemiah. Recently, however, the view has gained favour that the Artaxerxes mentioned is the second of that name. If this is accepted, Ezra's visit and work of reform fall in the year 398. Kosters is a good representative of the critical view.

'According to him, a return of exiles in the second year of Cyrus did not take place at all; the building of the Temple and the walls was rather the work of the population that had remained behind in the land (II. Kings xxv. 12), of whom Zerubbabel and Nehemiah were governors; Ezra's visit and work of reform fall in the second governorship of Nehemiah, after the events narrated in Neh. xiii. 4-31. Ezra arrived for the first time after 433; first of all the community was reconstituted by the dissolution of the mixed marriages, and then solemnly bound to the observance of the Law which had been brought with him by Ezra: the first return-journey under Zerubbabel, with all those who joined themselves with him, has been invented by the Chronicler, who reversed the order of events. Finally, according to Torrey, the 'I' passages, with the exception of Neh. i. 2. (mainly) and iii. 33-vi. 19 (mainly), have been fabricated by the Chronicler, who in them created his masterpiece; and Nehemiah also belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II.' (Cornill).

Kosters' theory has been energetically opposed by Wellhausen, and Ed. Meyer has argued strongly in favour of the authenticity of the documents embodied in Ezra iv.-vii. See further Appendix.

## B. THE PROPHETIC LITERATURE

# CHAPTER III.—THE WRITING PROPHETS[1]

*Literature.*—Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel* (new ed. edited by Professor Cheyne); *cf.* also Ewald's *Prophets of the Old Testament*, 5 vols. (English transl.), 1867-1868; A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*; A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy* (1903); A. R. Gordon, *The Prophets of the Old Testament* (1916); T. H. Robinson, *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel* (1923); the artt. *Prophetic Literature* in *Encycl. Bibl.*: *Prophecy and Prophets* in Hastings' *D. B.*; and the volume mentioned at foot of the page: also *The Hebrew Prophets in the Revised Version* (annotated) (4 vols., Oxford University Press).

## § 1. The Book of Isaiah.

*Literature.*—The commentaries of Cheyne (2 vols.), Delitzsch (3 vols.), G. A. Smith (2 vols.), Skinner (Camb. Bible, 2 vols.), Whitehouse (2 vols., *Century Bible*), and G. W. Wade ('Westminster Commentaries,' 1911); Cheyne's volume on *Isaiah* in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (*S.B.O.T.*) (an English translation based on a critical text with notes); *The Book of Isaiah, in a new critical translation with notes* (1908), by the present writer; Driver's *Isaiah: his Life and Times* (2nd ed.); G. B. Gray, *Commentary on Isaiah* i.-xxvii. (*I.C.C.*), 1912. [The following section should be read in conjunction with Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 30-38.]

The Book of Isaiah, as it lies before us in our Bibles, has had a long and complicated history. It embodies a series of prophetic collections which themselves must have passed through a separate literary history before they were embodied in the present canonical Book. The oldest attestation of the Book, in the form in which it now lies before us, is that of Ben Sira in *Ecclesiasticus* (xlviii. 20-25). By the time that Ben Sira wrote (*c.* 200 B.C.) it is clear from the passage just quoted that substantially the Book of Isaiah, as we now possess it,

[1] The following chapter has been written with the volume on *The Hebrew Prophets*, by R. L. Ottley, in the present series in view, and should be supplemented by it. Canon Ottley's book is cited below as 'Ottley, *H.P.*'

'was regarded as a unity, the work of the prophet whose name it bears' (Cornill).

**Articulation of the Book.**—The entire Book divides into two well-defined parts, (*a*) ch. i.-xxxix. and (*b*) xl.-lxvi. Each of these had a separate literary history before they were united into a single whole.

(*a*) *Ch. i.-xxxix.* Here ch. xxxvi.-xxxix. are clearly separable from what precedes. They form a historical appendix which has been excerpted from the Book of Kings (they correspond to II. Kings xviii. 17-xx. 19). They were probably added to Isa. i.-xxxvi. after the time of the Chronicler, but before that of Ben Sira, *i.e.* between 300 and 200 B.C. Ch. i.-xxxv. are a combination of several smaller collections, viz. :—

i. An introduction to the whole Book (ch. i.).
ii. The first group, containing the first collection of Isaiah's prophecies (ch. ii.-xii.).
iii. The second group, containing a number of oracles on foreign nations (some Isaianic) (ch. xiii.-xxiii.).
iv. The third group, dealing mainly with the deliverance of Jerusalem, with an eschatological preface and appendix (ch. xxiv,-xxxv).

(*b*) *Ch. xl.-lxvi.* Here two main divisions are distinguishable, viz. :—

i. *Ch. xl.-xlviii.* (with a later appendix, ch. xlix.-lv.). The work of the Babylonian prophet—the 'great unknown,' who is usually styled Deutero-Isaiah.
ii. *Ch. lvi.-lxvi.* Mainly the work of an author, it would seem, who wrote in Jerusalem shortly before the first arrival of Nehemiah, *i.e.* before 445 B.C. This writer is sometimes styled the 'Trito-Isaiah.'

**The Dating of Isaiah's Prophecies.**—Isaiah's active prophetic life extended from the death-year of King Uzziah, 740 B.C., probably down to the eventful year of Sennacherib's campaign against Jerusalem (701 B.C.), and possibly even later. During this period events of the greatest importance took place in Western Asia, which were closely connected with the renewed aggressive activity of the Assyrian Power. The genuine prophecies of Isaiah revolve mainly around three great political crises, due either directly or indirectly to Assyrian intervention, viz. (*a*) the Syro-Ephraimite war in 734 B.C. (Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus invade Judah with the object of forcing Ahaz to join an anti-Assyrian coalition); (*b*) the fall of Samaria in 721 to the Assyrians, and the end of the Northern Kingdom; and (*c*) the

events leading up to Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 B.C.

A number of Isaiah's prophecies fall within or shortly before these events. Such are :—

(*a*) *Before the Syro-Ephraimite invasion* (before 734 B.C.): Isa. ii. 4-22; iii. 1-15; iii. 16-iv. 1; v. 1-24; ix. 7-x. 4 and v. 25-30; xvii. 1-11; vi. 1-11.

(*b*) *During the Syro-Ephraimite invasion* (734 B.C.): ch. vii. 1-17; viii. 1-4.

(*c*) *Within the period which ends with the fall of Samaria* (721 B.C.): ch. viii. 1-10 (sometime between 734 and 723 B.C.); viii. 11-15 (slightly earlier); xxviii. 1-4 (723 B.C.).

(*d*) *The following prophecies of Isaiah fall within the eventful years* 705-701 B.C.: ch. xxviii. 7-22 (about 703 B.C.); xxix. 1-8, 9-11 (12), 13-14 (same date); xxix. 15 (16), xxx. 1-5, 6-7, 8-17, xxxi. 1-9 (703-702 B.C.); i. 2-17 (701 B.C.) and xxii. 1-14 701 B.C.

**Analysis of Isaiah i.-xxxix.**—Isaiah's genuine prophecies are embedded, as will appear, in collections which contain a considerable amount of non-Isaianic matter. The first part of the Book of Isaiah consists of

i. *A general preface to the whole collection of Isaianic prophecies* (ch. i.), which embodies a summary of Isaiah's teaching.

ii. *First Collection of Isaiah's prophecies* (ch. ii.-xii.).

This includes minor collections: viz.

(*a*) The earliest minor collection (ii. 1-iv. 6), with an eschatological introduction (ii. 2-4) and conclusion (iv. 1-4); largely Isaianic.

(*b*) The parable of the Vineyard and its application (ch. v. 1-24); Isaianic, *c.* 735 B.C.

(*c*) The second minor collection (vi. 1-ix. 6), containing Isaiah's account of his inaugural vision (ch. vi.), passages written about the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion, culminating in the description of the Messianic King (vii.-ix. 6): Isaianic.

(*d*) An oracle directed mainly against Northern Israel (ix. 7-x. 4 and v. 26-30) ending with the refrain :

*For all this His anger is not turned back*
*And His hand is outstretched still.* (Isaianic.)

(*e*) A fine Isaianic prophecy contrasting Jahveh's plan and that of the Assyrians (x. 5-15 with xiv. 24-27): date between 711 and 701 probably.

(*f*) An oracle describing the destruction of Assyria (x. 16-23).

(*g*) An oracle of the same subject, which contains fragments of Isaiah's writing of about 722 B.C. (edited late) (x. 24-34).

(*h*) Second description of the Messianic King (probably Isaianic: after 701 B.C.).
(*i*) Two appendices (xi. 10-16, the return of the exiles, and formation of the Messianic community; and xii., a lyrical Epilogue to the first complete Isaianic collection).

iii. *An intermediate collection of oracles, mainly concerning foreign nations* (ch. xiii.-xxiii.).

(*a*) xiii. 1-xiv. 23: The fall of Babylon (exilic).
(*b*) xiv. 24-27 (misplaced conclusion to x. 5 f?).
(*c*) xiv. 28-32: On Philistia: 720 B.C.
(*d*) xv.-xvi.: On Moab: date of main prophecy uncertain (not Isaianic): with an Isaianic fragment appended of 711 B.C.).
(*e*) xvii. 1-11: The fall of Syria and Ephraim, 735 B.C.
(*f*) xvii. 12-14: An Isaianic fragment appended (*c.* 702 B.C.)
(*g*) xviii.: An address to the Ethiopian ambassadors: 702 B.C.
(*h*) xix.: On the fall of Egypt.
(*i*) xx.: Captivity of Muçri and Cush predicted: an appended Isaianic piece, *c.* 711 B.C.
(*j*) xxi.: A vision of the fall of Babylon, with two other oracles: end of exile [xxi. 16-17 *may* be an Isaianic fragment].
(*k*) xxii. 1-4: Oracle on the Valley of Vision, *c.* 701 B.C.; vers. 15-23: Against Shebna (Isaianic, with later appendix).
(*l*) xxiii.: The fall of Tyre.

iv. *A third collection of Isaianic prophecies, dealing mainly with the deliverance of Jerusalem: with an eschatological Preface and Appendix* (ch. xxiv.-xxxv.).

(*a*) The eschatological preface, consisting of passages partly descriptive, partly lyrical, and partly apocalyptic in character: marked by striking stylistic peculiarities (ch. xxiv.-xxvii.: date perhaps 332 B.C. about).
(*b*) Prophecies, largely Isaianic, dealing mainly with the deliverance of Jerusalem, with some post-exilic additions and insertions (ch. xxviii.-xxxiii.): ch. xxxii. and xxxiii. contain a series of Messianic appendices.
(*c*) The eschatological appendix (ch. xxxiv.-xxxv.): ch. xxxiv. is a description of the Divine judgment on Edom and the nations, and ch. xxxv. is a picture of the Golden Age that is to follow.

v. *A historical Appendix to the collected form of Isaianic prophecies* (ch. xxxvi.-xxxix.).

The section contains narrative accounts of three important episodes 'each of which illustrates the commanding influence exercised by the prophet in the reign of Hezekiah' (Skinner). These are (1) a twofold (parallel) account of Sennacherib's failure to secure the surrender of Jerusalem (ch. xxxvi.-xxxvii.); (2) Hezekiah's sickness and recovery (ch. xxxviii.); and

(3) Merodach-Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah (ch. xxxix.). There is no doubt these chapters were excerpted from the canonical Book of Kings. With some variations they correspond with II. Kings xviii. 13-xx. 19, and a comparison of the two clearly demonstrates the superior character of the recension in *Kings*. From the latter there are only two important points of divergence in Isaiah, viz. (*a*) the omission of the section contained in II. Kings xviii. 14-16, and (*b*) the insertion in the Isaiah text of Hezekiah's psalm of thanksgiving (xxxviii. 9-20), from another (and later) source. [The narrative in xxxvi.-xxxvii. probably belonged originally to a collection of prophetical biographies, which were written for purposes of edification rather than strict historical record. Thence they were excerpted presumably by the compiler of *Kings*.]

**Analysis of Isaiah xl.-lxvi.**—In passing from ch. xxxix. to xl., we can hardly fail to be conscious of having entered a totally different region of prophetic literature. Ch. i.-xxxix. are largely made up, as we have seen, of fragments and short sections. But in ch. xl. ff. the phenomena are totally different. Here we are at once confronted with a long and connected prophetic discourse (ch. xl.-xlviii.)—a purely literary production—which is marked by unity of style and thought, and consistency of historic background.

What that background is, is clear enough. We are no longer in the world of the prophet Isaiah of Jerusalem. Assyria and its monarchs—Sargon, Sennacherib—are never so much as mentioned. Another empire has become the oppressive world-power—that of Babylon—and the writer of these chapters is looking forward with breathless eagerness to the coming deliverance, the prospect of which is beginning to dawn. The Babylonian Exile is not predicted but presupposed. The writer—who hails Cyrus by name as the deliverer—is obviously living in the later years of the Exile (probably he wrote soon after 548 B.C.).

In the space at our command it is impossible to give full details of the analysis of these chapters. They fall naturally into three divisions: (*a*) ch. xl.-xlviii.; (*b*) xlix.-lv.; and (*c*) lvi.-lxvi.; (*a*) and (*b*) are the work of Deutero-Isaiah (the writer alluded to above); (*c*) is the work probably of a later writer, usually termed 'Trito-Isaiah.'

(*a*) *Ch. xl.-xlviii.* form the original prophecies of Deutero-

Isaiah. This section was probably composed between 546 and 538 B.C. It opens with the cry of consolation, *Comfort ye, comfort ye my people*, and closes with the triumphant summons, *Come out from Babylon* (xlviii. 20). The author writing in Babylonia, before the fall of Babylon, addresses a message of consolation and encouragement to the exiles, bidding them in glowing language to make ready for the coming deliverance and prepare to see the divine promises of restoration brilliantly fulfilled.

(*b*) *Ch. xlix.-lv.* form, probably, an appendix to the preceding, written by the same author, some years later (possibly just after the issue of Cyrus' decree, permitting the return, in 538). The main theme of these chapters is the re-establishment and glorious future of Israel and of Zion. They conclude (lv. 1-13) with a call to embrace the coming salvation.

(*c*) *Ch. lvi.-lxvi.*—Here an entirely new section of the Book begins. The tone and outlook are usually different. Zion's felicity—the day of the longed-for salvation—has not yet dawned. The obstacle, however, is no longer Babylon, but godless members of the Jerusalem community and heretics. Jerusalem has a settled population, and the Temple has been rebuilt. But social conditions are unsatisfactory—the rich oppress the poor—and the old Israelitish population of the land (which had been left behind when the exiles were deported to Babylonia) is unwilling to submit to the 'yoke of the Law.'

The chapters were written, apparently, at a critical time when it was important to strengthen the faith of the strict religious party by kindling hope among them in the coming salvation. They were perhaps written by one author—usually styled the 'Trito-Isaiah'—*c.* 450 B.C. (a few years before the arrival of Nehemiah in Jerusalem). But *ch. lx.-lxii.* strongly recall the manner of Deutero-Isaiah, and are assigned by some critics to that writer.

[One of the most keenly debated questions at the present time is the question of the so-called 'Songs of the Servant of Jahveh' (xlii. 1-7; xlix. 1-6; l. 4-9; and lii. 13-liii. 12—all in the work of Deutero-Isaiah). Some critics maintain the view that these 'songs' are separable from their present context, and were in fact inserted into the expanded Book of Deutero-Isaiah (ch. xl.-lv.) after its completion; but whether by Deutero-Isaiah himself, or by a later hand, they have not determined. See further the present writer's *Isaiah*, pp. 194-198 and on lii. 13-liii.; and for the *Servant of Jahveh*, Driver's *Isaiah*, pp. 140 f., 149, 150-5, 161, 175-180 and 207, and the commentaries.]

## § 2. Jeremiah.

*Literature.*—Commentaries: in *Expositor's Bible*, 2 vols. (vol i. by C. J. Ball; ii. by W. H. Bennett): also *Book of Jeremiah: revised translation with introductions and short explanations* by S. R. Driver (1906); Commentaries by Peake (*Century Bible*, 2 vols.), and L. W. Binns ('Westminster Commentaries,' 1919). *Cf.* also Cheyne, *Jeremiah, his Life and Times* ('Men of the Bible' Series); J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion* (1922: specially

important for Jeremiah); and J. R. Gillies, *Jeremiah, the Man and his Message* (1907): gives critical reconstruction of text, following Duhm and Cornill). [The following section should be read in conjunction with Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 52-61.]

*Chronological Table.*

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 639. | Josiah. |
| 626. | Jeremiah's call. |
| 621. | Discovery of Deuteronomy; Josiah's Reformation. |
| 609. | Battle of Megiddo; death of Josiah. |
| 609. | Jehoahaz. |
| 608. | Jehoiakim. |
| 604. | Defeat of Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. |
| 597. | Jehoiachin. |
| 597. | First siege of Jerusalem—Jehoiachin and flower of nation, including Ezekiel, deported. |
| 596. | Zedekiah. |
| 586. | Destruction of Jerusalem; Exile. |

**The Prophet.**—The prophet Jeremiah belonged to a priestly family and was born at Anathoth (*cf.* I. Kings ii. 26; Josh. xxi. 18), a town not far from Jerusalem (on the north). His prophetic ministry was carried on mainly in Jerusalem, where he made his first public appearance as a prophet in the thirteenth year of King Josiah (*cf.* Jer. i. 2, xxv. 3), *i.e.* 626 B.C., five years before the momentous discovery of the 'Book of the Law' (some form of Deuteronomy) by Hilkiah in the Temple. Jeremiah played a specially prominent part in the critical times which followed on Jehoiakim's accession to the throne, and which culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. The prophet sternly denounced King Zedekiah's breach of faith with Nebuchadnezzar, and when Jerusalem was besieged a second time, declared in plain language (ch. xxi. 1-10; *cf.* xxxviii. 17 f.) that the besiegers would prevail. The prophet was treated with consideration by the Chaldeans, and allowed to remain where he pleased. The last we hear of him is that he was carried against his will by some Jews who had been left behind in Palestine down to Egypt (ch. xlii.-xliv).

**The Character and Origin of the Book of Jeremiah.**—'The *book* traditionally handed down to us under the name of Jeremiah is distinguished from all the rest of the prophetic writings by the prevalence of the biographical element: apart from ch. lii., chapters xix.-xx. 6, xxvi.

xxix., xxxiv. and xxxvi.-xlv. are purely narrative in character' (Cornill). The narrative is objective in form (only ch. xxvii. being written in the 1st person). This part of the Book shows so many marks of circumstantial detail and is written so vividly that it must be regarded as a historical source of the first rank.

In *ch. xxxvi.* a circumstantial account is given of extraordinary interest, regarding the manner in which the Book originated. It appears from this narrative that for twenty-three years the prophet used oral methods only in his work; it was not till the fourth year of Jehoiakim (*i.e.* 604 B.C.) that he received the commission to write out all the words which Jahveh had hitherto spoken to him. This he did through the good offices of a younger friend and disciple, Baruch, who wrote down the book at the dictation of the prophet. This roll was read, a year later, at a great assembly (fast) in the Temple, was cut up and thrown into the fire by Jehoiakim, and again written out, with additions by Baruch. It follows that the discourses delivered by the prophet during the first half of his ministry are preserved only in a later (much abbreviated) *résumé*. To recover this original roll might appear to be an easy task, to be accomplished by the simple process of separating the discourses which belong to the earlier period.

If the narrative sections are omitted these comprise the following: ch. i., ii.-vi., vii.-x., xi.-xii. 6, xxv. [also xviii.]. But a closer examination shows that these cannot possibly have stood originally together in such a connection. Ch. iii. 16-18 breaks the connection between iii. 5 and 19; ix. 22, 23–x. 16 severs the (logically) continuous verses ix. 21, 22, and x. 17.

The original roll was doubtless utilised in the composition of the present Book of Jeremiah, but has not been preserved in its original form.

**Articulation of the Book.**—The Book falls into two main divisions: (*a*) ch. i.-xlv., and (*b*) ch. xlvi.-li., with an appendix (lii).

(*a*) **Ch. i.-xlv.** These chapters can again be divided into two groups, viz.: the *narrative passages* and *those containing the discourses.*

i. The *narrative passages* consist of the following:—Ch. xix.-xx. 6; xxvi.-xxix., xxxiv. and xxxvi.-xlv. This part of the Book appears to have been

written by a different hand from that which compiled the chapters containing the discourses.

ii. *The chapters containing the discourses* comprise i., ii.-vi., vii.-x., xi.-xviii. [xx. 7-18], xxi. 1-10; xxi. 11-xxiii. 8; xxiii. 9-40; xxiv.; xxv.; xxx.-xxxiii.; xxxv.

(*b*) **Ch. xlvi.-li.** form a collection of prophecies concerning foreign nations, which have been grouped together in much the same way as the similar collections in Isa. xiii.-xxiii., and Ezek. xxv.-xxxii. [The appendix ch. lii. is a historical account of the capture of Jerusalem, and the exile of the inhabitants, which has been excerpted by the compiler from the Book of Kings (II. Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. 30, with the omission of II. Kings xxv. 22-26). The text of this section of Jeremiah is in several details superior to that in *Kings*.]

**Analysis of ch. i.-xlv.**—Here the oldest material is evidently comprised in ch. i.-x. (except x. 1-16), xi.-xviii., and xxv.

*Ch. i.* contains the account of the prophet's call in 626 B.C.

*Ch. ii.-vi.* embody presumably Jeremiah's first discourses. They probably refer to the state of affairs in Judah under Josiah between 626 and 620 B.C.

*Ch. vii.-x.* (except x. 1-16) form a group of prophecies belonging probably to the early years of Jehoiakim's reign (608-5) B.C. [x. 1-16 against idolatry is probably a later insertion; it interrupts the connection between lx. 22 and x. 17.]

*Ch. xi.-xviii. and xxv.* are less uniform in contents and of various dates: xi. 1-xii. 6 originally spoken soon after the discovery of Deut. in 621 B.C.; xii. 7-17 dates probably from 598 B.C.; xii. between 608 and 597 B.C.; xiv. 1-xvii. 18, perhaps the latter part of the reign of Jehoiakim: xvii. 19-27, on the Sabbath (it is doubtful whether this is of Jeremian authorship; its tone suggests a later time; *cf.* Neh. xiii. 15-22); ch. xviii. [lessons from the potter] probably belongs to the early group, before 604 B.C., as also does ch. xxv.).

The other material of these chapters, apart from the narrative sections, may be assigned to Jeremiah's work in the latter part of his career.

**Ch. xlvi.-li. (lii.).**—The group of oracles against foreign nations contained in ch. xlvi.-li. is closely connected with ch. xxv. (*cf.* xxv. 19-26), and in the LXX. text is actually inserted in ch. xxv.

The oracles are directed against Egypt (xlvi.), the Philistines

(xlvii.), Moab (xlviii.), the Ammonites (xlix. 1-6), Edom (xlix. 7-22), Damascus (xlix. 23-27), Kedar (xlix. 28-33), Elam (xlix. 34-39), Babylon (l.-li.). Of these the last is certainly not Jeremian (l.-li.); while the oracle against Elam is dated in the reign of Zedekiah. The remaining seven (including xlviii. in an earlier form) may have stood in the original roll. [Ch. lii., as already explained, is a late prose appendix.]

**The Double Text of Jeremiah.**—As is well known, the text of the LXX. in Jeremiah differs more completely from the Hebrew than is the case with any other Old Testament book. These differences concern (*a*) the arrangement, and (*b*) the extent of the subject-matter.

Thus (*a*) the LXX. exhibits the oracles against foreign nations in a different order (viz. Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistia-Phœnicia, Edom, Ammon, Kedar, Damascus, and Moab), and in a different place (viz. after xxv. 13). Here the *order* of the oracles is more original in the Hebrew text, and their *position* more original in the LXX. (*b*) The LXX. exhibits a much shorter form of text, some 2700 words (*i.e.* about one-eighth of the entire book) being unrepresented in it. Many of the omissions are unimportant; but some are substantial, as x. 6-8, 10; xi. 7-8; xxix. 14 (except two words), 16-20; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxix. 4-13; lii. 28-30. Some of these omissions are due to accidental causes (homoioteleuton); others indicate a text superior to the Hebrew. On the whole, the form of text given in the LXX. is 'purer and more original. But it is impossible to speak with accuracy of two "recensions"—the agreement of both forms of text is too considerable, and their mutual relationship too close for that; we have in them only two different editions of the same recension' (Cornill).

**Growth of the Book.**—The Book of Jeremiah only reached its present form as the result of a complicated process of literary growth, the stages of which cannot be exactly determined.

Cornill, in his edition of the Hebrew text of the Book in *S.B.O.T.*, arranges the text as follows:—

*Part I.* (containing prophecies written by Jeremiah).

(*a*) The first section contains the discourses which appear to have been delivered between 626 and 604 B.C., and were, therefore, included in the original 'roll': viz. ch. i.; ii.-vi.; iii. 6-16; xi.; xii. 1-6; xviii.; vii.; viii.; ix. 1-22; x. 17-24; xxv. (with some omissions); xlvi. 1-12 (Egypt); xlvii. 1-7 (Philistines); xlviii. (Moab, with some omissions); xlix. 1-6 (Ammon); xlix. 7-21 (Edom); xlix. 23-27 (Damascus); xlix. 28-33 (Kedar-Hazor).

(*b*) Discourses from the fifth year of Jehoiakim to the end of his reign (ch. xiv.-xvii. 18, omitting xvii. 5-13; xii. 7-17; xxxv.).

(*c*) Discourses delivered in the reign of Jehoiachin, 597 B.C. (ch. xiii.).

(*d*) Discourses delivered in the reign of Zedekiah, 596-586 B.C. (ch. xxiv.; xxix., with large omissions; xlix. 34-39; xxii.; xxiii; xxi.; xx. 14-18+6-12; xxxii.; xxxiii. 1-13, omitting vers. 14-26).

(*e*) Discourses delivered after the capture of Jerusalem, July 586; (ch. xxx. and xxxi., with some omissions; xlvi. 13-26).

(*f*) Appendix containing some displaced genuine passages of Jeremiah, which cannot be assigned to their proper place (ch. ii. 14-15; ix. 22-23; ix. 24-25; xii. 4; xvi. 19-20; xvii. 5-8; xvii. 9-10; xvii. 11-13).

*Part II.* (comprising a collection of biographical chapters concerning Jeremiah's life). They were evidently written after the death of the prophet (which took place soon after 586 B.C.) by a person who appears to have been well informed).

Ch. xix.-xx. 6; xxvi.; xxxvi.; xxvii.-xxviii.; li. 59-64; xxxiv. 1-7; xxxvii. 3, 5-10; xxxiv. 8-22; xxxvii. 4, 11-21; xxxviii.; xxxix. 15-18 (3, 14); xl. 6-16; xli.-xliv.

*Part III.* consisting of passages written neither by Jeremiah, nor by the author of the biographical chapters (x. 1-16; xvii. 19-27; xxxix. 1-12+xl. 1-5; l.-li.).

## § 3. Ezekiel.

*Literature.*—Commentaries: by A. B. Davidson (in Cambridge Bible); H. A. Redpath (in 'Westminster' Series); [on the criticism of the Hebrew text, C. H. Toy, in *S.B.O.T.*]. [The following section should be read in conjunction with Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 63-70.]

**The Prophet.**—Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, was a priest, and his writings may be regarded as exhibiting a singular combination of the priestly with the prophetic spirit. He belonged to the aristocracy of Jerusalem, the bulk of which was deported with Jehoiachin in 597 B.C. into Babylonia. There with other Jewish exiles he was settled at Tel-abib (iii. 15) by the river Chebar (i. 1, 3; iii. 15, etc.). The exiles at Tel-abib seem to have formed a little community. Ezekiel lived in his own 'house' (iii. 24; viii. 1, etc.), and other houses are alluded to (xxxiii. 30). The elders of the Israelite community are spoken of as visiting the prophet at his home and listening to his words (viii. 1).

Ezekiel received the call to the prophetic office in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's exile (592 B.C.), and the latest date given in the book (xxix. 17) is some twenty-two years later (570 B.C.).

**Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The Book of Ezekiel falls into three clearly marked divisions, marked by difference of theme: (1) *ch. i.-xxiv.*, the imminent fall of Jerusalem; (2) *ch. xxv.-xxxii.*, prophecies on foreign nations; and (3) *ch. xxxiii.-xlviii.*, Israel's future restoration.

(1) **Ch. i.-xxiv.**—The prophet from his distant Babylonian home watches Jerusalem hastening to its doom. Though there was conflict and antagonism between the prophet and the other exiles who shared his captivity (*cf.* xii. 21 ff.; xiv. 1 ff.; xx. 1 ff.), yet it was on them that his hopes for the future were fixed. Zedekiah and the populace left behind in Jerusalem he regarded as beyond redemption (*cf.* ix. 9 f.; xii.; xvii. 1-21; xxi. 25-27; xxii.).

The Book opens with an introductory section (i. 1-iii. 15) in which the prophetic call and consecration are set forth in the vision of the cherubim-chariots of Jahveh. [This introductory section is termed by the Jews the 'vision of the chariot.'[1]]

The remaining chapters of the first part (iii. 16-xxiv. 27) comprise a collection of addresses which have as their theme the imminent destruction of Jerusalem. These chapters are of remarkable interest, especially in their vivid symbolism and the allegories (of which the prophet is very fond).

(2) **Ch. xxv.-xxxii.**—The second part contains oracles against seven foreign peoples—viz. Ammon (xxv. 1-7; *cf.* xxi. 28-32), Moab (xxv. 8-11), Edom (xxv. 12-14), the Philistines (xxv. 15-17), Tyre (xxvi. 1-xxviii. 19), Sidon (xxviii. 20-26), and a group of six prophecies against Egypt (xxix.-xxxii.).

This section of the Book presupposes the fall of Jerusalem. The prophet's attitude towards the foreign nations is determined by this event. 'The fall of Jerusalem wore the appearance of a triumph for heathenism; Jehovah, so it seemed, had been unable in the end to defend His city; the natives around viewed Him with scorn, and His name was profaned amongst them. To reassert the majesty and honour of Jahveh by declaring emphatically that He held in reserve a like fate for Israel's neighbours, is the main scope of [these] chapters.'[2]

(3) **Ch. xxxiii.-xlviii.**—The fall of Jerusalem, which was announced dramatically by a fugitive to the exiles (xxxiii. 21), brilliantly confirmed Ezekiel's predictions and strengthened his position as a prophet among the exiles. In the last part of his Book the prophet is concerned with the future, and with Israel's restoration. In ch. xxxiv. the false shepherds and leaders of Israel are described, and, by way of contrast, the advent of the Messianic Kingdom. Jahveh Himself will restore them (for the

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[1] The 'chariot' passage was regarded by the Rabbis as a synopsis of theosophy (so also Gen. i. of the cosmogony). The study of Ezek. i. and Gen. i. was, therefore, forbidden to those under thirty years old.

[2] Driver, *L.O.T.*, p. 268 f.

figure, *cf.* Jer. xxiii. 1-4). In ch. xxxv. a prophecy is uttered against Edom which had encroached on Israel's territory; but Judah, which is now a reproach, shall be repeopled and re-established (ch. xxxvi.). In ch. xxxvii. the restoration is depicted under the striking figure of the vision of the valley of dry bones. Ephraim, as well as Judah, is destined to share in the blessings of the future.

Ch. xxxviii.-xxxix. (Gog and Magog) are eschatological in character, and depict Jahveh's final triumph over the hostile world-powers, pictured as an attack of the hosts from the north on the restored nation.

*Ch. xl.-xlviii.* contain the famous vision of the restored temple and theocracy. Minute details are given of the imaginary building, and the organisation of the restored community.

**Character of the Book as a whole.**—The Book is pervaded by an individuality which is unmistakable. No substantial objections can be urged against its integrity or authorship. The prophecies are, in many cases, dated with precision, and the whole Book may be looked upon, as it stands, as (apart from minor redactional adjustments which are quite unimportant) the work of the prophet, whose name it bears. It has undergone no long literary expansion and development, in which many hands have participated, as is the case with such writings as the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In this respect the Book of Ezekiel occupies a privileged position in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament.

The text of the Book is, unfortunately, in a bad state of preservation. Ezekiel's style has many points of affinity with the priestly phraseology (especially with the Holiness Code). The essential spirit of P comes to expression in such passages as xxxvii. 27 f., xliii. 7, 9.

## § 4. The Minor Prophets (Book of the Twelve Prophets).

*Literature.*—Commentaries by Pusey, G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (2 vols. *Exp. Bible*); *Minor Prophets* in *Century Bible*, vol. ii., by S. R. Driver (on Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi).

On **Hosea**: T. K. Cheyne (Camb. Bible).

**Hosea** and **Amos**, by Harper (in *Internat. Crit. Commentaries*).

**Joel** and **Amos**, by S. R. Driver (in Camb. Bible).

**Micah**, by T. K. Cheyne (in Camb. Bible).

**Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah**, by A. B. Davidson (in Camb. Bible). On Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel, by various writers (in 1 vol., *I.C.C.*). On Habakkuk, by G. G. Stonehouse.

**Haggai and Zechariah**, by T. T. Perowne (in Camb. Bible).

*Cf.* **Zechariah and his Prophecies**, by C. H. H. Wright (Bampton Lectures, 1879).

**Malachi**, by T. T. Perowne (in Camb. Bible).
*Cf.* also the articles in *Encycl. Brit.* (ed. 9): Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*; F. W. Farrar, *The Minor Prophets, their Lives and Times*: articles in the Bible Dictionaries.

## (i) Hosea (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 24-30).

Hosea was the son of a certain Beeri, to whose authorship Jewish tradition assigns Isa. viii. 19-20. Hosea was a native of the Northern Kingdom, and was active in the reign of Jeroboam II. (*cf.* i. 1)—probably in the latter part of it—and subsequently. From his Book we gather that he had been compelled to endure heavy domestic sorrow (ch. i.-iii.), and that he lived in very disturbed and troublous times (*cf.* ix. 7-8).

*Chronological Table.*

| B.C. | | B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 786. | Jeroboam II. | 737. | Pekahiah, |
| 746. | Zechariah. | 735. | Pekah. |
| 745. | Shallum. | 733. | Hoshea. |
| | Menahem. | 722. | Fall of Samaria. |

[Jeroboam II. was the fourth ruler of the dynasty founded by Jehu. His reign was long and successful. But the House of Jehu had not fulfilled the expectations of the prophets. Hence Hosea's prediction of judgment upon it (i. 4 f.). With Jeroboam's successor (Zechariah) the dynasty of Jehu came to an end (he was murdered after a reign of six months). A period of anarchy followed, of which a picture is given by Hosea in vii. 3-7, viii. 4.]

**Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The Book falls into two parts: (*a*) ch. i.-iii., and (*b*) ch. iv.-xiv.

(*a*) *Ch. i.-iii.*—The prophet out of his own domestic misfortunes weaves a sort of allegory of Israel's unfaithfulness to Jahveh and its consequences. But the rejection is not final. The time here presupposed is the prosperous period of Jeroboam II.

(*b*) *Ch. iv.-xiv.* comprise a series of addresses, which give a summary of Hosea's prophetic teaching. This part of the Book obviously emanates from a later period than (*a*). Anarchy and murdered kings are alluded to (vii. 3-7, 16; x. 15). Israel is seeking help from Assyria and Egypt (*cf.* v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9; xii. 2). But there is no allusion to the Syro-Ephraimitish war of 735-4. Thus (*a*) belongs to *c.* 746 B.C., (*b*) to *c.* 735.

*Ch. iv.-xiv.* may be divided into three sections: (1) iv.-viii., where Israel's *guilt* is emphasised: ix.-xi. 11, Israel's *punishment* emphasised; xi. 12-xiv., both lines of thought

are continued, but in the conclusion (xiv.) a brighter future is pictured for Israel if the nation repents.

**General Character of the Book.**—'The Book of Hosea is individual and subjective in character to a degree that is hardly paralleled in the case of any other prophetic writing' (Cornill). It reflects an intensely emotional temperament, which makes itself felt in the short, abrupt sentences that mark the prophet's style.

The Book has been subjected to Judaistic influence, and it is possible that there are some Judaistic interpolations (e.g. '*and David their King*' in iii. 5; *cf.* Jer. xxx. 9).

(ii) JOEL (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 95-97).

In the title of the Book no particulars are given as to date; only the prophet's name is mentioned (*Joel son of Pethuel*).

The theme of the Book is a simple one. It dwells upon the approach of the 'Day of Jahveh,' the precursor of which the author sees in a terrible plague of locusts which, accompanied by drought, is causing the severest distress.

The prophecy falls into two parts, viz. (*a*) i. 2-17 and (*b*) ii. 18 to end. In (*a*) the occasion of the prophecy (a visitation of locusts) is vividly described (i. 2-7); the prophet proceeds to exhort the people to fasting, supplication, and mourning, for the present visitation suggests the approach of the 'Day of Jahveh' (i. 15), which is to be ushered in by a visitation even more terrible (ii. 2-11). In (*b*) ch. ii. 18 to end the result of the prophet's warning is set forth in narrative form: the people, apparently, repented, Jahveh graciously changed His purpose and responded to the people's prayer. The language here is largely eschatological.

**Date of the Prophecy.**—On the question of date there has been a large amount of discussion among the interpreters of the Book. A number of indications, however, converge to show that the composition of the Book must be post-exilic.

Such allusions as those contained in iii. 1-3 and 17 (=iv. 1-3, 17 in Hebrew) presupposes the dispersion of the Jews among nations. The reference to captive Jews being sold to Greeks in iii. 6 also implies a post-exilic date. The Temple is in existence, and a solemn assembly of the people (a 'fast') can take place there. It is probable that the community of the Second Temple is addressed; and the mention of Jerusalem's *walls* (ii. 9) indicates a time sub-

sequent to the age of Nehemiah (perhaps between *c.* 400 B.C. and 350 B.C.).

[The *diction* and *style* of Joel are smooth and flowing; 'but it is the flowing diction of the scholar who is deeply read in the ancient literature, not the spontaneous beauty which marks the creations of genius.'[1]]

### (iii) Amos (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 17-24).

**Amos**, as he himself informs us, was a shepherd living in the Judæan town of Tekoa. From following the flock he was taken by Jahveh in order to prophesy against Jahveh's people Israel, *i.e.* the Northern Kingdom. His message was to announce its overthrow, and the exile of its inhabitants by the Assyrians. With such an announcement as the burden of his message it is not surprising that the prophet should have been expelled from the royal sanctuary at Bethel. The prophet appears himself to have committed his prophecies to writing, and may, therefore, be styled rightly the 'first of the writing prophets.'

**Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The book falls naturally into three parts: (*a*) ch. i.-ii., introductory; (*b*) ch. iii.-vi.; and (*c*) ch. vii.-ix.

(*a*) *Ch. i.-ii.*—After a fine exordium (i. 2) the prophet rapidly surveys the nations bordering on Israel, and shows that in each case retribution will follow the violation of some moral law; Israel, too, is not destined to escape; its doom is approaching (ii. 13-16). The enumeration of the nations skilfully leads up to a climax—in Israel.

(*b*) *Ch. iii.-vi.*, a group of three discourses, each introduced by the emphatic address: *Hear ye this word* (iii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1). Here the indictment of Israel is worked out and justified in detail.

(*c*) *Ch. vii.-ix.* contains a series of visions, with a historical passage interjected (vii. 10-17) and an epilogue (ix. 7-15). The visions point the moral of the previous chapters.

It will be apparent from the analysis that the Book as a whole is skilfully arranged and marked by unity of plan and consistency of thought. In command of language and literary power the earliest is also one of the greatest of the writing prophets.

The only passages as to whose authenticity serious doubts can be urged are ii. 4-8 (a Deuteronomic interpolation?), iv. 13, v. 8-9,

[1] Merx.

and ix. 5-6, all of which seem to disturb the connection, and not to fit their context (Wellhausen would add i. 9-10, 11-12; iv. 12*b*; and viii. 11-12).

The conclusion of the Book, ix. 8-15, is usually treated by critical scholars as a post-exilic addition, appended in order to give the Book a hopeful ending. It is, however, possible that some of the alleged interpolations in the prophetic literature—especially passages which exhibit eschatological features—may be older than the prophets in whose writings they occur, and may be cited by them as they were current and familiar in popular tradition.

**Date of Amos.**—According to the superscription in i. 1, Amos prophesied in the reigns of Uzziah of Judah, and Jeroboam (II.) of Israel: and everything in the Book confirms this. The picture there given suggests a state of affairs in which external prosperity is combined with internal weakness (the result of the corrupting influence of luxury and great wealth). Amos was probably active between 760 and 750 B.C. He must be regarded as an elder contemporary of Hosea, who shows signs of being acquainted with the prophecies of Amos.[1]

### (iv) Obadiah (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 61, 97-98).

The little prophecy which bears the name of *Obadiah* is concerned mainly with Edom, upon whom a fearful judgment is announced to be impending (vers. 1-9); the ground of this is Edom's baseness and treachery towards Judah in the hour of her calamity, when the city was captured by enemies (vers. 10-14); the day of retribution that awaits them is coming with the advent of 'a Day of Jahveh' upon all nations: then Edom shall give place to a reunited and restored Judah and Israel (vers. 15-21).

**Date of the Prophecy.**—It is obvious that vers. 11-14 refer to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. This will furnish the *terminus a quo*. But the matter is complicated by the relation of Obadiah to Jer. xlix. 7-22.

In Jer. xlix. a considerable number of points of contact with Obadiah occur: Obad. 1=Jer. xlix. 14; ver. 2=xlix. 15; ver. 3*a*=xlix. 16*a*; ver. 4=xlix. 16*b*; ver. 5=xlix. 9; ver. 6=xlix. 10*a*; vers. 8=xlix. 7; ver. 9*a*=xlix. 22*b*.

A comparison of these parallels tells in favour of the superior originality of Obadiah. But Obadiah cannot be

[1] *Cf.* Hos. iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, with Amos v. 5.

earlier than 586 B.C., and Jer. xlix. 7 f. was delivered in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604 B.C.). The only satisfactory solution of this enigma is to suppose that Jer. xlix. 7-22 is not in its original form, but that the original form of it has been revised in accordance with Obadiah. Giesebrecht has shown in detail that this is probable. According to Wellhausen the original form of Obadiah consists of vers. 1-5, 7, 10-11, 13-14, 15*b*. This originally referred to the displacement of Edomites by Arab tribes in the fifth century B.C. The prophecy was later revised (partly under the influence of Jer. xlix.) with the object of expanding the contemporary catastrophe of Edom eschatologically into a judgment over the heathen world and the restoration of Israel.

### (v) Jonah (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 99-103).

The Book of Jonah, both in form and substance, is utterly unlike any other of the prophetic writings. It is cast entirely (apart from the 'psalm' in ch. ii.) in the form of historical narrative, which, however, is pervaded by a very pronounced didactic aim and edifying purpose.

The hero of the Book is Jonah ben Amittai of Gath-hepher in Galilee, who is referred to in II. Kings xiv. 25 as having predicted to Jeroboam II. his successes against the Syrians.

**Character of the Narrative.**—The story told in the Book presupposes a time when the Assyrian Empire was at the height of its power and Nineveh was, in a sense, the metropolis of the world. The Jonah referred to must, therefore, be the historical Jonah of II. Kings xiv. 25. But the linguistic features of the Book make an early (pre-exilic) date for its composition quite impossible. The narrative is a late one (post-exilic) which recounts an episode in which the historical Jonah is the principal figure. It resembles in general character the biographical narratives of Elijah and Elisha in Kings, 'though it is pervaded by a more distinctly didactic aim' (Driver).

There may be a historical basis for the narrative—very probably the preaching of Jonah in Nineveh was a fact vouched for by old tradition—but the incidents appear to have been made subservient to the very pronounced didactic aim of the Book. According to Budde, the Book of Jonah has been extracted from the Midrash, from which the Chronicler cited. The book has a decidedly Midrashic character.

**Aim of the Book.**—The Book appears to have been written as a protest against the exclusive spirit which more and more dominated official Judaism after the time of Ezra. Jonah is the type of his unspiritual fellow-countrymen who were disappointed because the heathen had not been exterminated by Jahveh. The lesson of the Book seems to be that God, being not merely the God of the Jewish nation, but of all creation, extends His love to all His creatures; that He is concerned with the well-being of the heathen world; and that the heathen are ready to respond to the prophetic message about the true God, which it is Israel's duty to proclaim to the whole world.

Some scholars prefer an allegorical view of the Book, according to which Jonah represents not merely unspiritual Israelites, but the Israelitish nation as a whole. Israel had been entrusted by God with the commission to bear witness to the revelation of the true God, but had failed to respond to the demands of this high calling; had repeatedly apostatised, and, in consequence, was 'swallowed up' by the world-power Babylon (*cf.* Jer. li. 34). The chastisement of exile produced repentance and the nation was disgorged (*cf.* Jer. li. 44), *i.e.* released; but even then many in Israel were disappointed because the predictions regarding the overthrow of the heathen nations were not realised, just as Jonah was disappointed at the reversal of the doom pronounced upon Nineveh.

**Date and Integrity of the Book.**—The composition of the Book cannot well be assigned to an earlier date than the end of the Persian period (*c.* 350); it may even belong to the Greek period. It was already recognised as one of the 'twelve prophets' by the time of Ben Sira, *i.e.* *c.* 200 B.C. (Ecclus. xlix. 10). In its broad universalism it is unsurpassed in the whole range of Biblical literature.

The Psalm in ch. ii. 3-10 is probably a later interpolation; it is inappropriate in its present place (being really a *thanksgiving*), and is largely made up of quotations from the Psalter.

(viii) Micah (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 38-43).

(1) **The Prophet.**—Micah was a younger contemporary of Isaiah, and is styled the *Morashtite, i.e.* a native of *Moresheth,* a small town dependent on Gath in the maritime plain (*cf.* ch. i. 1 and 14). According to Jer. xxvi. 18 he prophesied *in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah,* predicting that *Zion should be plowed as a field,* etc. (=Micah, iii. 12). His prophetic activity may,

therefore, probably be placed somewhere between the years 720-700 B.C.

The words *in the days of Jotham, Ahaz*, in the superscription (i. 1) are probably redactional additions.

(2) **Contents and Analysis of the Book of Micah.**—The Book falls naturally into three parts, viz. : (*a*) ch. i.-iii., (*b*) ch. iv.-v., and (*c*) ch. vi.-vii.

(*a*) **Ch. i.-iii.**—This section mainly consists of denunciation. It opens with a vivid description of Jahveh's imminent appearance for judgment on account of the transgression of Samaria and Jerusalem, which represent the northern and southern kingdoms. Samaria is therefore to be reduced to ruin (i. 2-7); the prophet, however, sees with grief that disaster is advancing upon Jerusalem as well. In a remarkable passage full of paronomasia he describes the fate of towns near his own home (i. 8-16); ch. ii. describes the national sin and its punishment: soon the heathen shall be seen dividing up the land (vers. 1-5). A sarcastic interruption (ver. 6) is met by an earnest reply on the part of the prophet (vers. 7, 11). In vers. 12-13 there is an abrupt transition. The restoration of Israel—the people headed by their king with Jahveh at his side—is strikingly depicted. [The text of ch. ii. is apparently in disorder and mutilated. The true sequence may be: vers. 1, 2, 8-10, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12-13 (ver. 5 is probably a gloss). The last two verses (12-13) are regarded by many scholars as a later interpolation. Their connection with the context is not clear, and they seem to presuppose the Exile.] Ch. iii. is parallel in thought (and partly in structure) with ch. ii. It falls into three parts: i. vers. 1-4, against the ruling classes; ii. vers. 5-8, a digression against the false prophets; iii. vers. 6-12, a recapitulation of the nation's sins and doom.

(*b*) **Ch. iv.-v.**—This section opens with an eschatological passage describing the future glory of Zion as the spiritual metropolis of the world (vers. 1-5=Isa. ii. 2-4 substantially): Israel's restoration is again predicted (vers. 6-7), as well as the revival of the Davidic sovereignty (ver. 8); in the remaining verses present distress, the period of travail and affliction which must precede Zion's final triumph over the assembled nations, are dwelt upon (vers. 9-13). Ch. v. again is largely Messianic and eschatological. The period of stress alluded to in verse 1 passes over into a description of the Messiah's birth and world-wide rule (vers. 2-4); he will be the Deliverer of his people against the Assyrians (vers. 5-6), and 'the remnant of Jacob' shall prove its terrible might among the nations (vers. 7-9); the great mark of the Messianic age will be the destruction of warlike instruments and idolatry (vers. 10-15).

(*c*) **Ch. vi.-vii.**: (i.) *vi.* 1-*vii.* 6.—This section is different in tone and character from ch. i.-iii. and iv.-v. The whole people —not merely its leaders—is denounced; and the representation takes a dramatic form, that of a controversial dialogue between Jahveh and Israel. Jahveh first arraigns the people (vi. 1-5); in

the following verses (6-8) the people personified and the prophet speak; a further denunciation by Jahveh (vers. 9-16) follows, and again the penitent community and the prophet speak in vii. 1-6.

(ii) *vii.* 7-20.—Here again the standpoint changes. The penitent community in distress speaks in vers. 7-10, the prophet replying with a consolatory promise (vers. 11-13), which is followed by a prayer spoken by the prophet in the people's name, that the promised salvation may be realised.

(3) **Composite Character of the Book.**—The fragmentary character of much of the Book is apparent on close examination. The transitions are abrupt, and the standpoint constantly changes. Eschatological features are also very marked. The last part of the third section (vii. 7-20) is regarded by Wellhausen as an exilic addition, but may well be original. Ch. vi. 1-vii. 6 was assigned by Ewald to an anonymous prophet in the reign of Manasseh. This *date* is probable, and is not inconsistent with Micah's authorship. It has been questioned whether the whole of iv.-v., particularly the Babylon clause in iv. 10, is consistent with the context.

Cornill supposes that vi. 1-vii. 6, with a conclusion now lost, were added to an earlier form of i.-iii.; that this whole was then interpolated by another hand which added iv. 1-4, 11-14, v. 1-3, 6-14; finally a later hand revised this whole, adding vii. 7-20 (in place of the original conclusion) and interpolating ii. 12-13, iv. 5-10, and v. 4-5.

## (vii) Nahum (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 46-48).

(1) **The Prophet.**—All that is known of Nahum (='rich in comfort [is God]') is contained in the statement (i. 1) that he was an *Elkoshite*. But the locality so designated is unknown.

According to Jerome it is to be identified with a village in Galilee which in his time bore the name Elkesi (fourth century A.D.). But the site of this village is uncertain.

(2) **Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The main contents of the Book are correctly described in the superscription, *Oracle concerning Nineveh*, which, however, is a late editorial insertion. The original heading is contained in the second part: '[The book of] *the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite.*'

The prophecy against Nineveh really begins with ii. 1, followed immediately by ver. 3 f.: it falls into three parts: (*a*) ii. 1, 3-10, (*b*) ii. 11-13 and (*c*) iii

Here (*a*) describes in vivid language the assault on Nineveh, and its capture; (*b*) contains an oracle directed against the King of Assyria; and (*c*) contains a fierce denunciation of the sins and doom of the 'bloody city.' The calamities which have already overtaken No-Amon (*i.e.* Egyptian Thebes) shall fall upon it.

Ch. 1 (+ii. 2) forms the exordium to the oracle on Nineveh in the present form of the Book. A fine picture is given of Jahveh appearing in judgment, and the effects of this on the physical universe (vers. 2-6); He cares for those who trust in Him (ver. 7) but overwhelms His enemies (vers. 8-12*a*); vers. 12*b*-15 describe how the joyful news is conveyed to Judah.

It was long ago noticed that ch. i. and ii. 2 exhibit traces of an alphabetic acrostic, and throughout there is no reference to Nineveh. The text of i. 1-15 and ii. 2 has been reconstructed by Gunkel and Bickell so as to form a complete alphabetic psalm, with contents of an eschatological character. Ch. i. and ii. 2 as a whole can hardly belong to Nahum originally. Possibly i. 9-12 may proceed from the prophet.

**Date of Nahum's Oracle.**—The composition of the prophecy must fall between 607-6, when Nineveh was destroyed by the Babylonians and Medes, and the capture of Thebes (No-Amon) alluded to in iii. 8-10. This took place for the second time and most completely in 663 or 662 B.C. (by Assurbanipal). As the tone of the prophecy suggests that the fall of Nineveh is imminent, a date somewhat nearer 606 is probable.

### (viii) Habakkuk (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 49-51).

Of the prophet Habakkuk nothing is known but what can be inferred from the Book.

**Contents and Analysis.**—The prophecy is thrown dramatically into the form of a dialogue between the prophet and Jahveh (*cf.* Micah vi.-vii.; Jer. xiv.-xv.). It falls into three parts: (*a*) ch. i., (*b*) ch. ii., and (*c*) ch. iii.

(*a*) *Ch. i.*—The prophet complains of the wickedness which goes on unchecked in the land (vers. 2-4); Jahveh answers that the instrument of judgment—the Chaldeans—is near at hand (vers. 5-11); the prophet now raises another problem—are the righteous to perish with the guilty in a common destruction at the hands of a brutal and barbarous power? (vers. 12-17).

(*b*) *Ch. ii.* begins by depicting the prophet on the watch-tower awaiting an answer to his appeal and complaints (ver. 1). The answer is given in ver. 4: *The oppressor (the Chaldean?) is elated with pride; but the just by his faithfulness shall be preserved*

*alive.* The oppressor's pride will prove his downfall. This theme is developed in a 'taunt-song,' placed in the mouth of the nations, on the day of the tyrant's downfall (vers. 6-20).

(*c*) *Ch. iii.* is a lyric ode 'which for sublimity of poetic conception and splendour of diction, ranks with the finest (Ex. xv.; Judg. v.) which Hebrew poetry has produced' (Driver). The theme is Jahveh appearing in judgment against His foes.

**The Aim and Date of the Prophecy.**—It has usually been assumed that the oppressive power denounced is the Chaldean, and the date assigned has been *c.* 605 (just before the decisive victory of the Chaldeans over the Egyptians at Carchemish, in 604 B.C.). But this interpretation has recently been controverted.

Giesebrecht maintains that the descriptive passage which contains the only mention of the Chaldeans in the Book (i. 5-11) is misplaced, interrupting the close connection between vers. 12 and 4 of ch. i. The Chaldeans are to be regarded as not the objects but the instruments of Jahveh's wrath. The oppressor who is denounced must, therefore, be Assyria, and the occasion the threatening of Nineveh by the Chaldeans. Perhaps i. 5-11 should be made to follow ii. 4, where there is a gap, apparently, in the text. Cornill would, on this view, date the oracle *c.* 615 [the 'bloody city' of iii. 1. would, of course, be Nineveh].

Ch. iii. has a character of its own. It is decidedly apocalyptic and eschatological in colouring, It may have been derived from a collection of psalms, where it stood with its present superscription ('Prayer of Habakkuk the prophet'). It is probably post-exilic (notice the musical subscription).

### (ix) Zephaniah (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 48-49).

(1) **The Prophet.**—The superscription of the Book informs us that Zephaniah was the descendant, in the fourth generation, of a certain Hezekiah. The latter is not a very common name, and is generally assumed to be that of the famous king; but this identification is by no means absolutely certain. We also learn from the superscription that the prophet was active *in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah.* As the prophecy presupposes that idolatry is rampant in some of its grosser forms, the date of its composition will have preceded the Deuteronomic Reformation, and may be fixed as *c.* 630.

(2) **Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The prophecy falls into three parts: (*a*) ch. i., (*b*) ch. ii.-iii. 7, and (*c*) ch. iii. 8-20.

(*a*) *Ch. i.* contains a wonderful description of 'the Day of Jahveh' on which the famous *Dies irae dies illa* (i. 15 Vulgate) is based. The judgment is pictured as a world-catastrophe (ver. 2 f.), but is directed more particularly against the idolaters and apostates in Jerusalem. Three classes are specially mentioned as destined to be victims in the sacrifice, viz. the paganising dependents of the Court, the merchants, and the irreligious Judæans.

(*b*) *Ch. ii.* 1-*iii.* 7 continues the same theme. The prophet urges repentance (ii. 1-3), which will alone suffice to rescue the people from the doom that is destined to overwhelm the Philistines (vers. 4-7), Moab and Ammon (vers. 8-11), Ethiopia (ver. 12), and Nineveh itself (vers. 13-15). In iii. 1-7 Jerusalem is again addressed and her sins recapitulated, especially those of her governing classes.

(*c*) *Ch. iii.* 8-20.—In the concluding section a brighter future dawns. The effects of the judgment will be made manifest in a purified community, and the universal acknowledgment of Jahveh.

**Integrity of the Book.**—The general sequence of the thought is coherent enough, but there are indications that the text has been revised and worked over in places. Not improbably ii. 8-11 is a later interpolation (ver. 11 shows the influence of Deutero-Isaiah), as also are iii. 9-10 and 14-20 (the latter both in phraseology and thought completely Deutero-Isaianic). [The description of the devastating effects of the judgment in ch. i. may have been suggested by the Scythian invasion.]

### (x) Haggai (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 78-80).

The prophet Haggai is mentioned in conjunction with Zechariah (*cf.* Ezra iv. 24; v. 1, 2; vi. 14) as having come forward and urged upon the Jews of Jerusalem, some sixteen years after the return from Babylon (536), the duty of rebuilding the Temple. This happened in 520, and as the result of the prophet's exhortations the work was taken up in earnest and finished in 516 B.C. Probably Haggai at this time was an old man (he had seen apparently the old Temple before its destruction in 586) while Zechariah was quite young.

**Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The theme of the little Book is the rebuilding of the Temple. It falls into four sections which are precisely dated, viz. (*a*) ch. i., (*b*) ii. 1-9, (*c*) ii. 10-19, and (*d*) ii. 20-23.

(*a*) *Ch. i.*—On the 1st day of the 6th month of the 2nd year

of Darius (= 520 B.C.) the prophet urges the people no longer to delay the work of rebuilding the Temple. They themselves are dwelling in ceiled houses, while Jahveh's House lies in ruins. As a consequence they are suffering from drought and failure of the crops—a signal mark of the Divine displeasure. In vers. 12-15 the practical effect of the prophet's words is described.

(*b*) *Ch. ii.* 1-9.—On the 21st day of the 7th month the prophet encourages those who might have seen the Solomonic Temple in its glory, and be tempted to draw unfavourable comparisons. The later glory of the Temple will surpass its earlier splendour, because of the gifts of the Gentiles.

(*c*) *Ch. ii.* 10-19.—On the 24th day of the 9th month the prophet, by an illustration drawn from the ritual of the ceremonial law, teaches the people that they are in a state equivalent to levitical uncleanness so long as the Temple remains unbuilt.

(*d*) *Ch. ii.* 20-23.—On the same day Haggai encourages Zerubbabel—the representative of the old Davidic line—with the assurance that he will receive special tokens of the Divine favour.

**Character of the Book.**—The prophecy, as a whole, is simple and unornate, and its diction hardly rises above the level of pure prose. But its very simplicity and earnestness make its appeal all the more forcible.

(xi) ZECHARIAH (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 80-82, 92-94).

**(1) Contents and Analysis.**—The Book of Zechariah falls into two well-marked and distinct divisions, viz. (*a*) ch. i.-viii., and (*b*) ch. ix.-xiv.

(*a*) *Ch. i.-viii.* consist of (i) an introductory section (i. 1-6), dated 520 B.C., containing an appeal to the lessons of the past and an earnest exhortation to repentance; (ii) a group of eight visions (i. 7-vi. 8) all bearing one date, viz. the 24th day of the 11th month (*i.e.* Shebat=Jan.-Feb.) of the 2nd year of Darius (=Jan.-Feb. 519 B.C.). The first vision (i. 7-17) is that of the angelic horsemen (the angelic scouts who are Jahveh's messengers upon the earth, *cf.* Job i. 7). They report that all is quiet, there is no sign of the political upheaval promised by Haggai (ii. 6 f., 21 f.) which was to herald a Messianic crisis. The divine reply given to the angel-interpreter is a message of consolation and promise.

The second vision (i. 18-21=ii. 1-4 Heb.) is that of the four horns (representing the heathen powers that have oppressed Israel) and the four smiths (who symbolise the instruments for punishing the former). The third vision (ii. 1-5=ii. 5-9 Heb.) gives a symbolical description of the new city of Jerusalem. The vision is followed by a lyric piece in the style of Isa. xl. ff., which may be a composition of earlier date (it apparently presupposes that the exile is not yet at an end). The fourth vision

(ch. iii.) depicts the community in the person of the High Priest Joshua arraigned before God by the Satan (the accusing angel). The *filthy garments* of Joshua (representing the guilt of the community) are taken off; he is clothed with festal robes, and the advent of the Messiah (the *Branch* or *Sprout*; *cf.* Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15) is promised. The fifth vision (ch. iv.) is that of *the golden candlestick and the two olive-trees.* [The text appears to be in disorder; probably vers. 6*b*-10*a* should be read at the end, viz. vers. 1-6*a*, 10*b*-14, 6*b*-10*a*.] The *two olive-trees* probably symbolise the religious and civil heads of the community, viz. Joshua and Zerubbabel, who are to share equally in the work of restoring and maintaining the Temple (=the golden candlestick). The next two visions, viz. the sixth (that of the *flying volume*, v. 1-4) and the seventh (that of *the woman in the Ephah-measure*, v. 5-11) portray the purification of the land from crime and wickedness. The eighth and last vision (vi. 1-8) is that of *the four chariots of the winds.* Like the first it includes within its survey the whole earth, but unlike the former, which explains the postponement of the Messianic crisis, this represents the crisis as begun. The changed standpoint finds its explanation in the intervening visions where the moral and religious regeneration of Israel, which was a necessary preliminary, is described [vi. 9-15 forms a historical appendix]; (iii) there follows in ch. vii. (date 518 B.C.) an oracle concerning the fasts [certain fasts, commemorating the sad events in connection with the destruction of the Temple and the holy city, had come to be observed during the exile (vii. 3, 5; *cf.* viii. 19)].

(iv) Ch. viii. contains ten short oracles, forming a decalogue and summing up the prophet's teaching. A delightful picture is given of the Messianic age which is dawning. All the fast-days shall be turned into days of gladness.

(*b*) *Ch. ix.-xiv.* contain two distinct prophecies, viz. (i) ch. ix.-xi., with which xiii. 7-9 should probably be reckoned; and (ii) xii. 1-xiii. 6 and xiv.

(i) *Ch. ix.-xi. and xiii.* 7-9.—Ch. ix. depicts a judgment as about to fall on various parts of Syria and Palestine (Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, and Sidon, and the principal cities of the Philistines); this leads to the conversion of the remnant of the Philistines and their incorporation into Israel. These events prepare the way for the advent of the Messiah and the Messianic age. Ch. x. begins with a warning against trusting in teraphim and diviners, and unworthy rulers. Judah and Ephraim under new leaders will gain a decisive victory over their enemies. Ch. xi. gives a picture of war bursting over the north and east of the land. An allegory, in which the prophet and the people are mainly concerned, follows. The people are represented as rejecting the divine guidance, and suffering the consequences (dispersion and ruin). A purified remnant will constitute the faithful people of God (xiii. 7-9).

(ii) *Ch xii.* 1-*xiii.* 6 *and xiv.*—Ch. xii. opens with a picture of nations (including *Judah*) advancing against Jerusalem. Their forces are routed and Jerusalem is delivered. The population of Jerusalem have, apparently, been guilty of a judicial murder, but, seized with compunction, they mourn long and bitterly over their crime. Jerusalem henceforth (xiii. 1-6) is permanently cleansed from sin. In ch. xiv. Jerusalem is pictured as again assaulted by the nations. The city is captured and half its population carried into captivity. Jahveh intervenes to rescue the remnant, and the Messianic age begins. The nations who survive acknowledge Jahveh by coming up yearly to the Feast of Tabernacles.

(2) **Composite Character and Authorship of the Book.**—In passing from ch. viii. to ix. we are transported into a different world. All the remarkable and peculiar characteristics of i.-viii. disappear; and new features of a peculiar character emerge. The two parts of the Book cannot emanate from one and the same author. Ch. i.-viii. belong to the prophet Zechariah; ch. ix.-xiv. must be assigned to a different writer or writers.

Ch. ix.-xiv. have been the subject of much discussion which cannot be detailed here. Numerous indications point to a post-exilic origin (*e.g.* the yearly pilgrimage of all nations to Jerusalem to the Feast of Tabernacles in xiv.; the announcement of the termination of prophecy and its expulsion together with the spirit of uncleanness, xiii. 1-6; in ix. 13 the heathen world-power appears in the guise of Greece, the independent position of the 'House of Levi' beside the 'House of David,' etc. Probably some part of the Greek period (after 331) is indicated by such passages. There is a strong apocalyptic tinge, and the writer (or writers) appears to have been steeped in the older literature of the Old Testament. Whether the chapters emanate from one author or more is uncertain. The two separate headings (ix. 1 and xi. 1) rather suggest the latter alternative. It is probable that ix.-xi. with xiii. 7-9 dates from the eighth century B.C., and was subsequently modified, and that the rest of the latter part is post-exilic.

## (xii) Malachi (*cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 87-90).

(1) **Contents and Analysis.**—The prophecy of Malachi may be divided into six sections:—

(i) *Ch. i.* 2-5, which forms the exordium, contains a vindication of Jahveh's love towards Israel (against cavillers).

(ii) *Ch. i.* 6-ii. 9.—Israel, however, unmindful of the divine favour, does not honour Jahveh. The priests are neglectful in the discharge of their sacred functions, and the service of the sanctuary is brought into contempt. Severe punishment is threatened.

(iii) *Ch. ii.* 10-16.—Those who had divorced their Israelitish wives and married foreign women are denounced.

(iv) *Ch. ii.* 17-*iii.* 6.—Against those who impugned the righteousness of the divine government of the world the prophet announces the approach of a day of judgment, when Jahveh 'shall suddenly come to His Temple.'

(v) *Ch. iii.* 7-12.—Drought and famine are the divine punishment for the people's neglect in paying tithes and other dues. On the other hand, a blessing is promised upon those who fulfil these obligations.

(vi) *Ch. iii.* 13-*iv.* 6.—The prophet again meets complaints as to God's justice by declaring that the day is coming when Jahveh will make manifest who are His. Then the difference 'between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not,' will be made clear. The Book concludes with an exhortation to observe 'the law of Moses my servant,' and a promise of the coming of Elijah the prophet.

(2) **General Character and Date of the Book.**—The prophecy clearly belongs to the post-exilic period (*cf.* 1, 8, 'thy governor,' the same word that is used in Hag. i. 1; Neh. v. 14, xii. 16, etc.), after the Temple had been rebuilt (i. 10, iii. 1). A number of indications suggest a time shortly before the reform of Ezra-Nehemiah as the period of the composition of the Book (*c.* 450 B.C.).

Three abuses are especially attacked in Malachi, viz. the degeneracy of the priesthood, intermarriage with foreign women, and remissness in the payment of sacred dues. These abuses, especially the two last, were rampant in the age of Ezra-Nehemiah; and the latter exerted themselves strenuously to correct them (*cf.* Ezra ix. 2; x. 3, 16-44; Neh. x. 30, 32 ff.; xiii. 4 ff., 15 ff., 23 ff., 28 f.).

(3) **Authorship of 'Malachi.'**—It is highly doubtful whether the name 'Malachi' is a personal name at all. The superscription (i. 1) is very probably due to a misunderstanding of iii. 1 (*cf.* LXX.).

A peculiar feature is the recurrence of the strange expression *burden* (*oracle*) *of the word of Jahveh* in Zech. ix. 1, xii. 1, and Mal. i. 1 (not elsewhere). In Zech. ix. 1 this superscription appears to be original, but secondary in xii. 1 and Mal. iii. 1. We may infer that Zech. ix.-xiv. and Malachi were originally anonymous pieces, which were appended to the end of the prophetic collection (Zech. ix.-xiv. as being the longer first, and then the shorter 'Malachi'). Malachi was then separated off and provided with an independent superscription in order to make up the number of the short prophetic writings to twelve, while Zech. ix.-xiv. became incorporated into Zechariah, as Isaiah xl.-lxvi. into Isaiah [Zech. xii., marking a fresh division in what was regarded as the Book of Zechariah, was provided with a separate heading later, modelled on ix. 1].

## C. POETICAL AND DIDACTIC LITERATURE

# CHAPTER IV.—THE POETICAL AND DIDACTIC BOOKS

### (PSALMS, PROVERBS, JOB, THE FIVE MEGILLOTH)

## § 1. The Psalms.

*Literature.*—Commentaries by F. Delitzsch (Engl. transl. 3 vols.), Perowne (2 vols.), Cheyne (transl. with short notes, 1888), Briggs (*I.C.C.*), Kirkpatrick (in Cambridge Bible); also Cheyne's *The Origin and Religious Ideas of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures for 1889), and Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*[2], Lect. VII.; *cf.* also the articles *Poetry* in Hastings' *D.B.* (by Budde), and *Poetical Literature* in *Encycl. Bibl.*; G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915); Lowth, *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum praelectiones academicae* (Oxon. 1753; translated by G. Gregory, 1847), and the Preliminary Dissection to the same writer's *Isaiah* (1778) are still important.

(1) **Hebrew Poetry.**—The subject of Hebrew poetry can only be alluded to in the briefest manner here. For adequate discussion of its character and laws reference must be made elsewhere.[1]

As regards its character, Hebrew poetry is almost exclusively *subjective*, and is represented almost wholly by *lyric* and *gnomic* poems. The epos is entirely absent, and the drama is only represented, if at all, in a rudimentary form. The poetry preserved in Scripture is, of course, mainly *religious* in character. But specimens of what was no doubt a large literature of secular poetry have survived.

As examples *cf.* Gen. iv. 23 f. Lamech's song of triumph over the invention of metal weapons; the folk-songs in Numb. xxi. 17 f., 27-30; David's two elegies cited in II. Sam. i. 19-27, and iii. 33 f.

[1] In addition to the works referred to above under *Literature*, *cf.* Driver, *L.O.T.*, ch. vii., and Cornill, *Introduction*, pp. 15-26 (for an account of metrical theories).

**The Form of Hebrew Poetry.**—The predominant element in Hebrew poetry is the *couplet*—verses of two lines, the second of which in some way reinforces and completes the first. The significance of this parallelism of clauses (*parallelismus membrorum*) was first seen by Lowth, who distinguished other and more complicated forms of it.

Lowth classifies the following varieties:—

(*a*) **Synonymous Parallelism** (the commonest form) where the second line more or less echoes the first; *e.g.*:

*O praise the Lord all ye nations;*
*Laud Him, all ye peoples.* (Ps. cxvii. 1.)

(*b*) **Antithetic Parallelism** (the second line enforcing the first by a *contrasted* thought); *e.g.*:

*For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous;*
*But the way of the wicked shall perish.* (Ps. i. 6.)

(This variety is frequent in gnomic poetry.)

(*c*) **Synthetic or Constructive Parallelism** (the second line completing and supplementing the first—the parallelism being one of form only); *e.g.*:

*Yet have I set my king*
*Upon Zion my holy hill.* (Ps. ii. 6.)

(*d*) **Climactic Parallelism** (or 'ascending rhythm') should be added to the above. Here the second line takes up a word or phrase of the first line (which is logically incomplete) and develops it. This kind of rhythm is of rare occurrence, and 'is all but peculiar to the most elevated poetry' (Driver). A good example is the following:

*Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of the mighty,*
*Give unto the Lord glory and strength.*

[For other examples *cf.* Judg. v. 4*b*, 7, 19*a*, 23*b*; Ps. xxix. 5, 8; xcvi. 13; Ex. xv. 16*b*.]

Besides the distich, groups of three, four, and (rarely) of five lines (tristichs, tetrastichs, and pentastichs), exhibiting various kinds of parallelism, occur in the Old Testament.

The most clearly defined rhythm in Hebrew poetry is that of the so-called *Kînâ* (or 'dirge'), many examples of which occur in the Old Testament. Here a long line is divided by a cæsura into two parts of unequal length (a long and a short); *e.g.*:

*How art thou fallen from heaven,*
*O Lucifer, son of the Dawn!* (Isa. xiv. 12.)

It should be added that there is no clearly defined system of strict syllabic metre in the Hebrew poetry of the Old Testament; but a metre of a kind does occur which is regulated by the number of accentual beats in a line. There are also clear cases of lines being grouped in stanzas or strophes of a certain fixed

number; *e.g.* Isa. li. 17-lii. 12 is an elegiac poem in the Ḳînā-rhythm which falls into five seven-lined strophes.[1]

(2) **Title and Divisions of the Psalter.**—The Psalter is a collection of one hundred and fifty poems of a religious character, of various authorship and date. In their collected form they bear the general title in the Hebrew Bible of the *sefer tĕhillîm* (contracted into *tillîm* or *tillîn*). *i.e.* 'the Book of praise-songs,' 'Hymn Book'—a designation which indicates the liturgical character of the collection as a whole. The poems have been collected for use in divine worship and for religious edification.

The modern designation 'Psalms' is derived from the LXX. rendering of *tĕhillîm*, viz. Ψαλμοί.

In the Hebrew Bible (*cf.* also R.V.) the Psalter is divided into five books, viz. (1) Pss. i.-xli., (2) xlii.-lxxii., (3) lxxiii.-lxxxix., (4) xc.-cvi., and (5) cvii.-cl.

The LXX. and Masoretic enumerations differ in detail. In LXX. (so Vulgate) Pss. ix. and x. form a single psalm (as they must have done originally in the Hebrew text; notice the alphabetic arrangement extending over the two psalms), as also is the case with Pss. cxiv. cxv. On the other hand, Pss. cxvi. and cxlvii. each are divided into two psalms in the Greek. Consequently the double numeration extends from Ps. ix. 22 to cxlvi. 11 (Greek). Thus Ps. x. (in LXX.)=Ps. xi.; xliii. (LXX.)=xliv., and so on. Each of the first four books closes with a doxology (so LXX.), while in the fifth Book the last psalm (150) seems to take the place of such.

(3) **The Psalm-Titles.**—All except thirty-four of the Psalms bear superscriptions. These are largely made up of directions of a musical-liturgical kind. The most important, for the purposes of Introduction, are *data* contained in the superscriptions regarding *authorship*.[2]

(*a*) To *Moses* Ps. xc. is ascribed; (*b*) to *David* the authorship of no less than seventy-three psalms (nearly half the entire collection) is ascribed; viz. in Book I. (i.-xli.) all except four (Pss. i., ii., x., and xxxiii.); in Book II. eighteen psalms (viz. li.-lxv., and lxviii.-lxx.); in Book III. only one, viz. Ps. lxxxvi.; in Book IV. two (viz. ci. and ciii.); in Book V. fifteen (viz. cviii.-cx., cxxii., cxxiv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., cxxxviii.-cxlv.

(*c*) To *Solomon*, Pss. lxxii. and cxxvii.

(*d*) To *Asaph*, twelve psalms (viz. l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii.).

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[1] For this and many other examples see the present writer's critical translation of *The Book of Isaiah* (1908).

[2] All indicated by the so-called *lamed auctoris* (ל).

(*e*) To *Heman the Ezrahite*, Ps. lxxxviii. (one of two titles).
(*f*) To *Ethan the Ezrahite*, Ps. lxxxix.
(*g*) To *the Sons of Korah*, eleven psalms (viz. xlii., xliv.-xlix., lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxvii., and lxxxviii.).

Asaph, Heman, and Ethan are the names of the traditional founders of the families or guilds of Temple-singers who assisted in the worship of the second Temple. The 'Korahites' ('Sons of Korah') are referred to by the Chronicler as gate-keepers of the Temple (*cf.* I. Chron. ix. 19; xxvi. 1-19). From II. Chron. xx. 19 it may be inferred that they were engaged in the public worship of the Temple.

(4) **The Formation of the Psalter.**—Numerous indications go to show that the Psalter reached its present shape through several stages, and out of pre-existing smaller collections. Thus double recensions occur of one and the same psalm (Ps. liii. = Ps. xiv.; Ps. lxx. = Ps. xl. 13-17; Ps. cviii. = Ps. lvii. 7-11 + lx. 5-12), and several distinct groups of psalms stand out in the different books.

Thus there is a group of Korah-psalms (xlii.-xlix.), of Asaph-psalms (lxxiii.-lxxxiii.), of Hodu-psalms (cv.-cvii.: *hodu* = 'give thanks'); the 'psalms of degrees (or ascents)' (cxx.-cxxxiv.), and the Hallelujah-psalms (cxi.-cxiii. and cxlvi.-cl.). The 'Hallel' (Pss. cxiii.-cxviii.) also forms a group by itself, being treated in Jewish literature as a liturgical unit.

There are also indications that some dislocation has taken place, and that the present position of the groups is not the original one.

The fact that the subscription in Ps. lxxii. 20 states that 'the prayers of David are ended' must originally have implied that up to that point the writer can only have read *David*-psalms. In the present arrangement, however, a group of Korahite-psalms (xlii.-xlix.) and one Asaphic one (l.) *precede*. Hence Ewald plausibly conjectured that originally Pss. xlii.-l. stood *after* Ps. lxxii. On this view the *first* collection consisted of Book I. (Pss. i.-xli.), made up almost entirely of Davidic-psalms. The *second* collection was composed of (*a*) Pss. li.-lxxii. (nearly all Davidic; the subscription in lxxii. 20 is now intelligible),[1] (*b*) Pss. xlii.-xlix. (Korahite), and (*c*) Pss. l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii. (Asaphic, now all together, and not disjoined by li.-lxxii.), with an appendix (Pss. lxxxiv.-lxxxix.) added by a different hand. The *third*

[1] The writer of the subscription may have regarded Ps. lxxii. as a *prayer* of David *for Solomon*.

collection was composed of Pss. xc.-cl. It is more liturgical in character than the two preceding, and includes smaller independent groups (the Hodu, Hallel, Hallelujah-psalms, and the 'psalms of ascents').

Thus the Psalter falls naturally into *three* parts, viz. Pss. i.-xli., xlii.-lxxxix. (divided at lxxii. 20), and xc.-cl. The division into five books is an artificial one, probably based upon the five-fold division of the Torah into five Books (the Pentateuch).

That the Psalms have been redacted by different hands is also clear from the various use of the divine names *Jahveh* and *Elohim*. Thus in Book I. *Jahveh* occurs 272 times, *Elohim* (absolutely) 15; in Book II. *Jahveh* 30 times, *Elohim* 164; in Book III. in Pss. lxxiii.-lxxxiii. *Jahveh* 13 times, *Elohim* 36 times; but in Pss. lxxxiv.-lxxxix. *Jahveh* 31 times, *Elohim* 7; in Books IV. and V. *Jahveh* only occurs (except in Ps. cviii. and cxliv. 9). The influence of this factor can be seen in the double recensions. Thus the *Jahveh* of Pss. xiv. and xl. is altered to *Elohim* in the duplicate versions Pss. liii. and lxx.

From these facts it follows that Books II. and III. must have been edited by a different hand from that which redacted Book I.; and Books IV. and V. by a different hand from that which redacted Books II. and III.

(5) **Authorship of the Psalms.**—That *all* the psalms ascribed to David cannot be his composition is obvious from the internal evidence, and is generally admitted. If any Davidic psalms are to be found in the Psalter it is to be presumed that they will have been preserved mainly in Book I., which contains the oldest collection. Ewald, from internal indications, was led to ascribe the following to David's authorship: Ps. iii., iv., vii., viii., xi., xv., xviii., xix. 1-6, xxiv. 1-6, xxiv. 7-10, xxix., xxxii., cl.; and the following fragments contained in later psalms: Ps. lx. 6-9 [Heb. 8-11], lxviii. 13-18 [Heb. 14-19], cxliv. 12-14.

This selection is to a great extent *subjective*, being based upon a sense of the presumed fitness of the contents of the psalms in question to David's character and surroundings. 'It is possible that Ewald's list of Davidic Psalms is too large, but it is not clear that none of the Psalms contained in it are of David's composition' (Driver). A strong case for a truly Davidic psalm can be made out for Ps. xviii., of which a recension is given in II. Sam. xxii. A close examination of it shows that this psalm is composite in structure. But the evidence suggests that it may be in part by David.

*As a whole the Psalter must be regarded as the hymn-, prayer-, and religious instruction-Book of the community of the Second Temple.* The question that arises, then, in this connection is, were the individual psalms designed from the first for *liturgical* use?

That this was the case with most, if not all, of the psalms in Books IV. and V. seems clear. But in the earlier books there are indications that individual (non-liturgical?) psalms have been revised and adapted for liturgical use. Thus what was clearly a single alphabetic poem has been divided into Pss. ix. and x.; the liturgical conclusions in Pss. xxv. (22) and xxxiv. (23) are later insertions. In some cases fragments of originally distinct poems have been combined so as to form a single psalm (*e.g.* Ps. cviii., xix., xxiv., xl., and cxliv.). In these (and possibly other) cases pre-existing and independent material has been utilised for the psalm-collection, and the probability remains that *some* of this material is pre-exilic.

(6) **Date of the Formation of the Psalm-collection.**—Thus the *terminus a quo* for the formation of the Psalm-collections, even of the earliest, will be the period of the second Temple. The *terminus ad quem* for the formation of the complete collection is determined by the Prologue of the grandson of Ben Sira (132 B.C.). That the collection was substantially complete and regarded as sacred in the Maccabean period may be inferred from the fact that the only direct quotation from the Bible that occurs in I. Macc. (written *c.* 100 B.C.) is from Ps. lxxix. 2-3, which is there cited as Holy Scripture.

That poems composed in the Maccabean period have been admitted into the Psalter is practically certain. Theodore of Mopsuestia recognised seventeen psalms as such: viz. xliv., xlvii., lv.-lx., lxii., lxix., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxiii., cviii., cix., cxliv. The most certain of these are xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxxiii. Not improbably the Hallel group (cxiii.-cxviii.) was formed about the time of the rededication of the Temple (in 165 B.C.). They are still recited every one of the eight days of the feast of *Hanukkā* (*Dedication*). According to Jewish tradition, Ps. xxx. must belong to the same period (*cf.* superscription).

But the Maccabean psalms must be regarded as comparatively late insertions into a large earlier collection.

[For a full discussion of the question of Davidic authorship, *cf.* Driver, *L.O.T.*, pp. 351 ff. It is remarkable that the most certain specimens of David's poetical art that have survived are purely secular in character (II. Sam. i. 19-27 and iii. 33 f.). Elsewhere he is mentioned as a skilful musician (I. Sam. xvi. 18) and (possibly) as an inventor of musical instruments (Amos vi. 5). The original

meaning of the title 'of David' (or 'Davidic'), as applied to certain psalms, may have become obscure. It may have denoted a collection of psalms, the beginnings of which were formed early in the pre-exilic period (to be sung by a choir which traced its origin to David?).]

## § 2. Proverbs.

*Literature.*—Commentaries by Delitzsch, and Toy (*I. C. C.*), 1899: *cf.* also Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887), pp. 117-178.

(1) **General Character of the Book.**—The Book of Proverbs belongs to the *Wisdom-Literature* of the Old Testament (*Hokmā*). It is made up of a collection of aphorisms (Heb. *mĕshālîm*) of the most diverse kind and form, containing shrewd reflections and maxims on the conduct and affairs of life. The object of the collection is to teach and enforce 'wisdom.'

The Hebrew conception of 'wisdom' (*ḥokmā*) has as its dominating principle the fear of God. It is essentially practical—not speculative—in character. Hence its main energies were directed to questions of conduct. Practical sagacity in the conduct of the affairs of life, skill in judgment (Solomon), in interpreting riddles and dreams, earned a title to wisdom (*cf.* Gen. xli. 39, *e.g.* where Joseph is termed 'discreet and *wise*' by Pharaoh). Edom was specially famed for 'wisdom' (*cf.* Obad. 8; Jer. xlix. 7). 'Wise men' are mentioned in I. Kings iv. 31, and it may be inferred from other references to them in the Old Testament that they must have formed a distinct class or school (*cf.* Jer. xviii. 18; Prov. i. 6, xxii. 17, xxiv. 23; Job xviii. 18). Their outlook on life was broad—not distinctively national or particularistic. 'The wise men took for granted the main postulates of Israel's creed, and applied themselves rather to the observation of human character as such, seeking to analyse conduct, studying action in its consequences, and establishing morality, upon the basis of principles common to humanity at large. On account of their prevailing disregard of national points of view, and their tendency to characterise and estimate human nature under its most general aspects, they have been named, not inappropriately, the *Humanists* of Israel.'[1] Their teaching embraces moral advice, and such subjects as the education of the young (*cf.* Prov. i.-ix.). The Books of *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*—which deal with the problems of human nature—also belong to this Literature.

(2) **Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The Book falls into several distinct parts, which differ in character and are marked by special superscriptions, or introductions.

[1] Driver, *op. cit.* p. 369.

These are (*a*) **ch. i.-ix.**, a long section forming the introduction to the whole Book (with i. 1-6 as a sort of heading). In the form of a father speaking to a son, the disciple is warned against the dangers and temptations he is likely to meet, and *Wisdom* is commended to him as guide and friend. In ch. viii. *Wisdom* is introduced as speaking, while ch. ix. contains an allegory in which Wisdom and Folly each in turn invite men to come to them. These chapters are poetical in form, and make up a flowing and continuous discourse (differing in this respect from the short, pointed apothegms that follow in ch. x. ff.).

(*b*) **Ch. x. 1-xxii. 16**, with the heading *The Proverbs of Solomon*, forms the real kernel of the Book. This section consists of proverbs properly so called, each expressed in the form of a couplet, and being complete in itself. The larger number are antithetical in structure, moving in the form of statement and antithesis. **Thus:**

> *A wise son maketh a glad father:*
> *But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.*

In others the second line simply echoes the first or completes it: sometimes (but rarely) a figure or comparison is introduced.[1]

(*c*) **Ch. xxii. 17-xxiv. 22**, 'the words of the wise.' Here the short, pointed form of address is abandoned, and the form of (*a*), viz. a father speaking to a son, reappears.

(*d*) **Ch. xxiv. 23-34**, an appendix to the preceding.

(*e*) **Ch. xxv.-xxix.**, with the heading 'These also are Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out, form an appendix to (*b*). Here the distich reappears (but not quite regularly). Proverbs introducing a comparison, which are rare in (*b*), are frequent in this section.

(*f*) **Ch. xxx.-xxxi.** contain three appendices, two of which are provided with special superscriptions: viz. *ch. xxx.*, 'the words of Agur the son of Jakeh, the oracle'—a series of obscure and enigmatic utterances; *ch. xxxi.* 1-9 consists of instructions to *King Lemuel by his mother*, in which he is warned against women and wine; and *ch. xxxi.* 10-31 is an alphabetic poem in praise of the virtuous wife.

(3) **The Age and Authorship of the Book.**— The analysis shows quite clearly that the Book can only have attained its present form by gradual stages. Of the different sections ch. xxv.-xxix. form, perhaps, the oldest and most original. Its sayings are constructed with less conscious art than those of the middle section, ch. x.-xxii. 16.

[1] The Hebrew term for 'proverb,' viz. *māshāl*, properly denotes *a representation, i.e.* 'a statement not relating solely to a single fact, but *standing for* or *representing* other similar facts.' An example of a popular 'proverb' is, 'Is not Saul among the prophets?' (I. Sam. x. 12, etc). But the examples in the Book of Proverbs are more in the nature of artistically constructed apothegms.

The introductory section, i.-ix. and xxii. 17-xxiv. 34, with xxx. and xxxi., will be the youngest parts of the collection. On the question as to the age of the various parts of the Book there has been much difference of opinion.

*Ch. x.* 1-*xxii.* 16 (which is regarded by many scholars as the oldest part of the Book) is assigned by Delitzsch to the reign of Jehoshaphat, by Ewald to the beginning of the eighth century; *ch. i.-ix.* is assigned by Ewald, Davidson, and Nowack to the period just before the Exile.

Many scholars, however, take a different view, and regard the collection as substantially in all its parts post-exilic (late Persian or early Greek period). 'All the struggles which convulsed and dominated the prophetic period are over; Prophecy and Law (xxviii. 4-9; xxix. 18) lie behind the Book of Proverbs as things completed and closed, and the Book itself, taking its stand on the pure and lofty plane of the religious and moral ideas attained by those two potent forces, mints the good metal of Prophecy and Law into current coin' (Cornill). The universalistic spirit of the Book, and the personification of Wisdom, point to Greek influence, perhaps. There is a certain kinship of spirit between Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus which makes it difficult to suppose that they are separated by many centuries. 'Even the royal aphorisms in Proverbs, which are usually adduced as the surest criterion of pre-exilic origin [and have suggested the period of the monarchy] have their counterpart in Jesus ben Sira (*cf.* Ecclus. vii. 4-6; viii. 1-3; x. 1-5)' (Cornill).[1]

## § 3. Job.

*Literature.*—Commentaries by Delitzsch, A. B. Davidson, (Camb. Bible), S. R. Driver, and G. B. Gray (*I.C.C.*) by C. J. Ball (Oxford Press, 1922), and A. S. Peake (*Century Bible*); also Driver's edition of Job (R. V.) with short notes (Oxford, 1906); *cf.* also Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887), pp. 11-115; article *Job* (by A. B. Davidson) in *Encycl. Brit.* and the articles in the Bible Dictionaries.

(1) **The general Character and Aim of the Book.**—The Book of Job belongs to the *Wisdom-Literature* of which it is the most splendid representative. The theme of the Book is the problem of suffering—how to reconcile the suffering of the righteous with the justice of a beneficent and Almighty God. This was evidently a burning question when the Book was written, and it emerges in other parts of the Old Testament (*e.g.* in Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalms). What may be described as the

[1] The tradition of Solomonic authorship may have some relation to I. Kings iv. 32. *Cf.* the Introductions of Driver and Cornill on this point.

traditional and earlier Old Testament view was that *'suffering is a sign of the Divine displeasure, and presupposes sin on the part of the sufferer'* (Driver). This view is controverted in the Book of Job.

The Book recounts how Job from the land of Uz—a pattern of piety and blameless virtue—meets with a series of unparalleled misfortunes. These are supposed to indicate some special sinfulness on his part by the three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, who arrive on the scene to console him. The friends demand from Job confession of his guilt and submission to God's righteous judgment. This confession Job feels himself unable to offer without making himself a hypocrite, and the Book is mainly occupied with a debate between Job and the friends in which the issues involved are thoroughly discussed. An Epilogue completes the account of Job's vindication.

(2) **Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The Book consists of five parts, viz. (*a*) ch. i.-ii., (*b*) ch. iii.-xxxi., (*c*) ch. xxxii.-xxxvii., (*d*) xxxviii. 1-xlii. 6, and (*e*) xlii. 7-17.

(*a*) **Ch. i.-ii.**, the Prologue, written in prose. This furnishes the necessary information respecting the personality and fortunes of the hero of the poem. 'Without the prologue the whole of the following speeches would remain suspended in the air' (Cornill).

(*b*) **Ch. iii.-xxxi.**, written in poetry, set forth a debate between Job and his three friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. The section opens with a passionate cry from Job bewailing his birth, and asking why life should be prolonged, when it can only mean misery (ch. iii.). With ch. iv. the debate proper begins. The *first cycle of speeches* (ch. iv.-xiv.) is opened by Eliphaz (ch. iv.-v.) to whom Job (vi.-vii.) replies. Bildad (ch. viii.) now takes up the discussion, and Job (ix.-x.), in a tone of bitter irony, replies. The debate is continued by Zophar (xi.) to whom Job replies (xii.-xiv.). The friends all fail to offer Job any real satisfaction. *In the second cycle of speeches* (ch. xv.-xxi.) the debate is again opened by Eliphaz (xv.) followed by Job (xvi.-xvii.), who reproaches the friends for their empty solace. Bildad follows (xviii.) and is replied to by Job (xix.), and again Zophar (xx.) joins in and Job (xxi.).

*In the third cycle of speeches* (ch. xxii.-xxviii.) the friends adopt a different line. They explicitly charge Job with great sins (inhumanity, avarice, abuse of power) which they *infer* from his calamities. Eliphaz again opens the debate (xxii.); Job (xxiii.-xxiv.) declaims against the justice of God's providence. Bildad follows (xxv.) in a short speech, which practically concludes the friends' case. Job replies to all three in ch. xxvi.-xxviii. [Ch. xxvii.-xxviii. are difficult to fit into the position of Job Probably xxvii. 1-10 is the reply to xxv. 4-6, just as xxvi. is to xxv. 2-3; xxvii. 11-23 is probably 'directed to the friends whom Job confounds with their own words, in this way welding a piece of

recantation . . . into a weapon against the friends' (Cornill). Budde would transpose ver. 7 so as to follow vers. 8-10.] In ch. xxix.-xxxi. Job finally surveys the whole circumstances of the case, protesting (in ch. xxxi.) his innocence, and appealing to God.

(*c*) **Ch. xxxii.-xxxvii.**—The Elihu-speeches, likewise poetical in form (except the introductory verses, xxxii. 1-6). After Job's direct appeal to God, at the end of xxxi., it might have been expected that God Himself would answer and vindicate His methods of action and providence. Instead, a new speaker appears (who is never mentioned elsewhere in the poem, nor in the Prologue or Epilogue). He is represented as a bystander, younger than the rest, and so only intervenes at the end. Elihu's discourse falls into five parts; the first (xxxii. 6-23) introduces the speaker; in the second (xxxiii.), third (xxxiv.), and fourth (xxxv.) Elihu criticises Job's contentions; in the fifth (xxxvi.-xxxvii.) Elihu offers his own solution of the problem. Here he warns Job against being blinded by isolated cases of apparent injustice to the love and providential wisdom of God as exemplified in the regulated course of the world. Above all, he gives a teleological explanation of the suffering of the righteous. Suffering is an instrument of education in God's hand. Right recognition of this on man's part leads to infinite blessing; failure to recognise it to grave sin. In this way Elihu provides the one and only solution to the problem that is given in the Book.

(*d*) **Ch. xxxviii. 1-xlii. 6.**—Here Jahveh appears and answers Job out of the whirlwind. 'He does not dispute: He displays a series of living pictures, and surrounds, stuns, and overwhelms Job with His animate and inanimate creation' (Herder).

(*e*) **Ch. xlii. 7-17.**—The Epilogue (written in prose) describes the end of Job's trials and his restoration to prosperity.

(3) **Integrity of the Book.**—Questions have been raised regarding the authenticity of certain parts of the Book: in particular with regard to the Prologue and Epilogue, ch. xxvii. and xxviii., the Elihu-speeches, and xl. 15-xli. 26.

The Prologue and Epilogue, as has already been pointed out, are indispensable for the elucidation of the poem. [The story of Job here sketched was probably based upon tradition, which has been freely handled for didactic purposes. Job is alluded to as a historical personage in Ezek. xiv. 14.] For ch. xxvii.-xxviii. see above. The objections to the Elihu-speeches are grave, but have been most successfully explained by several modern scholars, especially by Cornill.[1] Probably Elihu is the absolute creation of the poet (hence his non-mention in the prologue and epilogue, which follow the outlines of the traditional story). Elihu's discourse offers the only solution of the problem, and is theologi-

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 425-431.

cally most profound. The section, however, is not a finished production, and was probably left by the poet in an incomplete form (hence obscurities of expression, repetition, etc.). Dramatically it is entirely appropriate that not Jahveh Himself, but a young stranger should offer the solution. When Jahveh does intervene it is not to discuss and dispute (which would have been an undignified exhibition) but to manifest and reveal. [The diffuse character of parts of xl. 15-xlii. 6 is probably due to the imperfect state in which this part of the poem was left.]

(4) **Date of the Book.**—This can only be determined by internal evidence. The language, which is tinged with Aramaisms, suggests a comparatively late date; while the contents of the Book show that the problem it deals with was in an advanced stage of discussion (later than Ezek. xviii). It can hardly be placed earlier than the Exile, and is probably later still (according to some scholars later than Prov. i.-ix.; *cf.* Job xv. 7, which is dependent on Prov. viii. 25). In any case the Book is most probably post-exilic.

## § 4. The Five Megilloth (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther).

*Literature.*—Commentaries on Canticles, by Harper (Camb. Bible), and P. Haupt (1902); on Ruth, by C. H. H. Wright (1864); on Lamentations, cf. *s.v.* in *Encycl. Brit.*; on Ecclesiastes, Commentaries by F. Delitzsch, C. H. H. Wright (1883); G. A. Barton (in *I.C.C.*, 1908); and by A. Lukyn Williams (in Cambridge R.V., 1922); on Esther, by P. Cassel and L. B. Paton (*I.C.C.*, 1908).

### 1. Canticles.

(1) **The general Character and Form of the Book.**—The *Song of Songs* (*i.e.* the choicest song) is a poem (or collection of poems) the theme of which is love. Numerous indications—such as change of number and (in the Hebrew) of gender—show that in different parts of the poem different persons are speaking or are addressed. From these phenomena diverse conclusions have been drawn. Some scholars (including Herder) have supposed that the Book is substantially a collection of independent love-songs. Others regard the poem—which has a certain uniform character—as in the nature of a drama.

According to the older view the dialogue is sustained by *two* main characters, viz. King Solomon and a Shulamite maiden (vi. 13), of whom he is enamoured. The poem describes how this beautiful maiden is taken from her country home, and made Solomon's bride at Jerusalem. According to the later view (as

developed by Ewald) there are *three* principal characters, viz. Solomon, the Shulamite maiden, and her shepherd-lover, to whom she remains faithful, in spite of the king's blandishments. On this interpretation the poem depicts the victory of true and plighted love, in spite of all worldly blandishments to be faithless.

Budde, however, partly reviving the old view of Herder, has furnished another interpretation. The *Song* is explained by the customs of the East which have survived down to the present day. 'Among the Syrian peasantry the seven-day marriage festival is called "the king's week," because on this occasion the young pair are looked upon as king and queen, and, sitting upon an improvised throne, are treated as such.'[1] There is a series of ceremonies which are gone through to the accompaniment of singing, playing, and dancing. Budde has shown that parts of Canticles agree with these songs. The 'king' is the young husband (called King Solomon, as the most fortunate of lords), and the 'Shulamite' is the young wife. The love referred to is conjugal love (after marriage). This theory necessitates the view that the songs have been redacted, and makes the interest culminate in the middle and not at the end of the poem.

**Date of the Book.**—The composition of the Book can hardly be very early. The style is generally pure, but Persian and Greek loan-words occur, as well as other marks of late linguistic usage. The date may be somewhere in the third or second century B.C. It is easy to see how the mention of Solomon's name would give rise to the tradition of Solomonic authorship.[2]

## 2. Ruth.

The story of Ruth is too well known to need recapitulation here.

(1) **The general Character and Aim of the Book.**—As it supplies particulars as to David's ancestry which are lacking in the Books of Samuel, one object of the Book may have been to remedy this deficiency. The real motive of the Book, however, is probably of another kind. If it was produced at the time when Ezra and Nehemiah were enforcing the strict view regarding intermarriage with foreign wives (*cf.* Ezra ix.-x. and Neh. xiii. 23-29), then *Ruth* may be regarded as a protest against this view, intended to enforce the lesson that bodily descent is not everything, and that union with a truly pious Gentile

[1] Cornill, *op. cit.* p. 460.

[2] It is a notable fact that the Book was admitted into the Canon on the interpretation that it is an allegory of the history of Israel from the Exodus to the Messiah.

woman may be blessed by Jahveh. The point is brought home with great force by the emphasis laid upon David's descent from a Moabitess.

(2) **Date of the Book.**—On the view of the Book given above, its composition must be placed in the post-exilic period. This is confirmed by the internal evidence.

An antiquarian air marks the allusions to the past (Ruth i. 1; *cf.* also iv. 7 with Deut. xxv. 9); and the language is marked by Aramaisms. [Some scholars, however, prefer an exilic date.]

### 3. Lamentations.

(1) **Title of the Book.**—One of the Jewish names of the Book is taken from its opening word *'ékā* (Heb. איכה); another name is *Ḳînôth*, i.e. *Lamentations* (LXX. θρῆνοι).

(2) **Contents and general Character.**—The Book is made up of five independent poems. The one theme of all is lamentation over the destruction of Jerusalem, the sufferings and calamities attendant upon which are depicted with terrible vividness.

The Book ends with a despairing note (v. 22). But when it is read liturgically in the synagogues the custom has been to avoid such a conclusion by repeating the penultimate verse (as in the case of Isaiah, Malachi, and Ḳoheleth).

The first four chapters are alphabetic poems, and are written in the Ḳînā-verse (explained above, p. 124 f.).

The text is in places corrupt: the verse-form, which is fixed, is a valuable aid for conjectural restoration where necessary.

Chap. v. occupies an isolated position. In its present (corrupt?) form it is neither alphabetic in arrangement nor is it constructed in the Ḳînā-verse.[1]

The themes of the chapters in detail are: the desolation and misery of Jerusalem (ch. i.); Jahveh's anger with His people (ch. ii.); the nation's complaint, and its ground of consolation (ch. iii.); Zion's past and present contrasted (ch. iv.); the nation's appeal for Jahveh's compassionate regard (ch. v.).

(3) **Date and Authorship of the Poems.**—Traditionally the authorship of *Lamentations* is ascribed to Jeremiah; and this tradition is as old as the LXX. But some parts of the poems are difficult to conceive as written by the prophet (*e.g.* v. 7, *cf.* Jer. xxi. 29-30; and Lam. ii. 9).

[1] See, however, an important article (*Lamentations*) in the new (forthcoming) edition of the *Encycl. Brit.*

It is, moreover, not improbable that the poems emanate from more than one author.

Ch. ii. and iv.—which must be the work of an eye-witness—are regarded by Cornill as the oldest parts, and were probably written soon after 586. Ch. v. may have been written towards the end of the Exile; while ch. i. and iii., which display many points of contact with Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, and with numerous psalms, may be younger (post-exilic).

### 4. Koheleth (Ecclesiastes).

(1) Title, general Character, and Contents of the Book.—The Hebrew title of the Book is *Koheleth*, which is rendered by the LXX. Ἐκκλησιαστής or *the Preacher*, and Latinised by the Vulgate into *Ecclesiastes*. The Hebrew word Koheleth occurs in the body of the Book as a name given to Solomon (i. 1, 2, 12; vii. 27; xii. 8, 9, 10).

The real meaning of the term is disputed. The feminine form of the word probably intensifies the meaning (investing the word with a neuter sense). Hence it may mean in this connection 'the great orator' (R.V. margin).

The writer, speaking in the name of Solomon, gives a sort of survey of life, mingled with his own personal reflections.

He begins by declaring the vanity of all earthly things (i. 1-11), the vanity of wisdom (i. 12-18), of pleasure and riches (ii. 1-11 ff.). In ch. iii. 1-15 he proves that God avenges all things, and that man is helpless before Him; men are like the beasts that perish (iii. 16-22); he depicts the misery produced by oppression, rivalry, and toil (iv. 1-6), the advantages of companionship (iv. 7-12), and the hollowness shown in political life, etc. (iv. 17-v. 6). In v. 7-vi. 6 the vanity of riches is the principal theme; then the vanity of desire is touched upon (vi. 7-12). In the remaining chapters the ways of the wise (vii. 1-24) are described, the wicked woman, the advantages of wisdom in dark days and trust in God (viii.-ix. 2); a parable on the utility of wisdom is given in ix. 13-18, which is followed by proverbs on the value of wisdom, and the results of folly (x. 1-15); the miseries endured by a land under an incompetent king are also described (x. 16-20); benevolence is inculcated (xi. 1-8), and in xi. 9-xii. 7 follows the song on the days of life and of death. The Epilogue (xii. 8-14) closes the Book.

The discussion is characterised by a certain inconsequence and inconsistency, which reflect the conflicting moods of the writer. His 'was a nature full of contradictory elements; in his body lived two souls—in head a Greek, in heart a Jew.' In spite of all anomalies and perplexing experiences Koheleth never loses hold of his

belief in God and the moral constitution of the world. As Professor Cornill well says: 'Old Testament piety has nowhere enjoyed a greater triumph than in the Book of Ḳoheleth.'

**Age and Authorship of the Book.**—The Solomonic personification is, of course, a mere literary device on the part of the author (adopted quite in good faith). Linguistically the Book is one of the latest products of Old Testament literature. It probably was written either during the last century of Persian rule (a period of decline and anarchy) or during the period of the later Ptolemies and Seleucids, when Greek influence (apparent in the Book) was powerful.

### 5. Esther.

(1) **The Contents and general Character of the Book.**—The Book of Esther is in form a historical narrative which recounts how, after the repudiation of Vashti, Esther, the adoptive daughter of a Jewish exile named Mordecai, became the consort of the Persian king Aḥashverôsh, *i.e.* Xerxes. In this position she was enabled to frustrate the plot of Haman, the arch-enemy of the Jews, and secured for the latter a bloody revenge on their opponents. The aim of the Book is obvious; it is to explain the origin and to recommend the observance of the Feast of Purim. Though it rests, doubtless, upon a traditional basis, it cannot be regarded as pure history, but rather in the nature of a historical romance.

**The Age and Origin of the Book.**—The first clear historical allusion to the Feast of Purim occurs in II. Maccabees (written probably about the beginning of the Christian era), where (xv. 36) the Day of Nicanor (Adar 13) is described as 'the day before the day of Mordecai' (*πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς Μαρδοχαικῆς ἡμέρας*). That the Feast of Purim is intended by 'the day of Mordecai' is obvious.

'By the majority of critics the Book is assigned either to the early years of the Greek period, or to the third century B.C.' (Driver). The character of the diction points to a late date.

Kuenen (with whom Cornill agrees) thinks the spirit of the Book most easily explained as an echo of the religious war against Antiochus Epiphanes, but would assign it, not to the beginning of the Maccabean period, but somewhat later (*c.* 135 B.C.).

## D. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

# CHAPTER V.—THE BOOK OF DANIEL

*Literature.*—Commentaries by Pusey (3rd ed. 1869), A. A. Bevan (1892), J. D. Prince (1899), S. R. Driver, 1900 (Camb. Bible), and R. H. Charles (*Century Bible*).

[With what follows *cf.* Ottley, *H.P.*, pp. 103-105 and pp. 91 ff.]

**(1) General Character of the Book.**—The Book of Daniel is the earliest literary example of a complete Apocalyptic Book. An extensive literature of this type exists outside the Old Testament Canon (the Ethiopic Book of Enoch is the most important example); and to it must also be reckoned ii. (iv.) Esdras (in the *Apocrypha*) and the Apocalypse of S. John (in the New Testament).

This type of religious thought (the apocalyptic) only emerged into a prominent place after the cessation of prophecy. In its literary form it presupposes the prophetic literature. But it embodies ancient elements as well, which it has made peculiarly its own, especially, it would seem, a traditional eschatology, which goes back to a long antiquity. This element can be seen already emerging into literary expression in some of the prophetic books (and earlier than Daniel).

[*Cf.* especially Isa. xxiv.-xxvii.; lxv.-lxvi.; parts of Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah.]

The main interest of apocalyptic is concentrated not on the present but on the great consummation of the future, the final drama which is to bring history to its predestined end. It is essentially 'other worldly,' and employs largely symbolic and figurative language, the vision and the dream. The 'revelations' given in apocalyptic writings are often attached to the name of some great heroic figure of old (probably on the basis of popular tradition). Lastly, the apocalyptists constructed a philosophy of history of their own (dividing it into fixed periods—*e.g.* a world-week) with a view to the final eschatological drama; and also evolved a peculiar technical phraseology.

**(2) Contents and Analysis of the Book.**—The Book of

Daniel falls into two main divisions : (*a*) ch. i.-vi., which narrate episodes in the history of Daniel, and (*b*) ch. vii.-xii., which contain the visions attributed to him. The Book is written partly in Hebrew, partly in a form of Palestinian Aramaic (the Aramaic part extending from ii. 4*b* to the end of vii.).

(*a*) **Ch. i.-vi.**—Ch. i. is introductory, and describes how Daniel, and three other noble Israelitish youths (Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah), who were among the captives taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the reign of Jehoiakim, were instructed by command of the Babylonian monarch, for three years, in the language and learning of the Chaldeans. Daniel is found specially distinguished, and in a remarkable degree in 'understanding in all visions and dreams.' Ch. ii. describes how Daniel, when all others have failed, successfully interprets a dream which troubled Nebuchadnezzar, and is raised to honour in consequence. Ch. iii. describes how Daniel's three companions, refusing to worship the golden image, are cast into a fiery furnace, are wonderfully delivered, and honoured by the king, who solemnly acknowledges the power of their God. Ch. iv. explains the occasion of a royal edict extolling the greatness of Israel's God (vers. 1-3, 34-37), viz. a dream (of the mighty tree which was to be cut down). This dream is interpreted by Daniel, when the Chaldeans have failed. The verification of the dream is described (vers. 4-33). Ch. v. describes Belshazzar's feast, and Daniel's interpretation of the writing on the wall. In ch. vi. it is related that 'Darius the Mede' (who had slain Belshazzar) promoted Daniel to honour: but later Daniel is cast into a den of lions (for refusing to obey an idolatrous decree), but is wonderfully delivered.

(*b*) **Ch. vii.-xii.**—The second or 'apocalyptic' part of the Book describes Daniel's visions. The first of these (ch. vii.)—that of the 'four beasts'—explains the latter to signify four kingdoms. After the fourth has been destroyed 'the people of the saints of the Most High' are to receive the dominion of the whole earth. The 'horn'-vision (ch. viii.) is explained to refer to the rise and fall of the empires of the Medes and Persians, of Alexander ('the notable horn'), and the four kingdoms that arose from the latter (the kingdoms of the Diadochi — of Seleucus at Antioch, the Ptolemies in Egypt, Lysimachus in Thrace, Cassander in Macedonia). The 'little horn,' doubtless, represents Antiochus Epiphanes. Ch. ix. opens with a prayer of Daniel imploring God to look favourably on the ruined sanctuary, and forgive the people's iniquity (vers. 1-19). The angel Gabriel explains that the seventy years of desolation prophesied by Jeremiah mean seventy *weeks of years*. This is then subdivided into three periods, and applied to the history culminating in the oppressive measures of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The fourth and last vision is described in ch. x.-xii. An angel appears to Daniel to give him a revelation concerning the future

(x. 1-19). This angel and Michael will have a long contest on behalf of Israel first with the 'prince' (guardian-angel) of Persia, then with the 'prince' (guardian-angel) of Greece (x. 20-xi. 1). The contest is described in xi. 2-xii. 3. Here in veiled language are narrated briefly the doings of four Persian kings (xi. 2) and of Alexander the Great (ver. 3), with the break-up of his empire at his death (ver. 4); vers. 5-20 contain a survey of the history of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, and their relations with each other, and vers. 21-39 give a detailed description of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and of his persecution of Israel's religion. 'The death of Antiochus is followed by the resurrection (of Israelites), and advent of the Messianic age (xii. 1-3). The revelation is designed for those living "in the time of the end," *i.e.* under the persecution of Antiochus (xii. 4-13), the close of which (ver. 11 f.) appears to be placed 1290 (or 1335) days after the suspension of the daily sacrifice in 168 B.C. (with xii., 11*a*, *cf.* xi. 31; viii. 11, 13).'[1]

(3) **The Aim of the Book and Date of its Composition.**—A number of indications converge to show that the Book cannot have been written earlier than *c.* 300 B.C., and in Palestine. It is practically certain that it was composed between the years 168 and 165 B.C., to encourage the faithful who were suffering in the persecution inaugurated by Antiochus Epiphanes.

'The writer's purpose is to strengthen the religious section of the nation under this supreme test of their faith and loyalty. He is carried back in the spirit to the days of the Exile, and identifies himself with Daniel, a Jewish captive at Babylon, who is represented as foreseeing in a series of great visions the course of events that culminated in the troubles of the Maccabean age. From the standpoint of the writer all events later than the age of Daniel are *ex hypothesi* future; but the Book is not without actual predictions: the author, who writes while the persecution is still going on, foresees the issues with a confidence which comes from the sense of a Divine gift.'[2]

[The position of the Book in the Jewish Canon, where it usually occupies the ninth place among the *Hagigrapha*, not being reckoned among the prophets, is significant.

That Daniel was a historical personage, and that the story of Daniel has a traditional basis, may be inferred from the reference in Ezekiel (xiv. 14-20), where Daniel is bracketed with Noah and Job; in Ezek. xxviii. 3 Daniel is mentioned as a prodigy of wisdom. There is an interesting reference to Daniel and the three friends in I. Macc. ii. 59, 60.]

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[1] Driver, *op. cit.* p. 466 f.
[2] Prof. H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St John*, p. xx.

# APPENDIX

## I

### The Composition and Date of Deuteronomy (see p. 51).

The tendency of recent radical criticism has been rather to emphasise the late date of Deuteronomy. This view has been consistently maintained in England by Professor R. H. Kennett, whose arguments can be seen conveniently summed up in a small brochure published by the Cambridge Press in 1920, entitled *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*. Dr. Kennett argues that the code of laws contained in Ex. xx.-xxiii. (the 'Book of the Covenant') can only have been reduced to writing when in the 7th century a large dislocation of the old Israelitish population took place, and foreign elements were introduced into the country. In these circumstances the old traditional customary social law, which had been administered without difficulty by judges and elders in the past, without recourse to a written code, was in danger of being forgotten or neglected; hence its formulation in writing. The purpose of the publication of Deuteronomy was to displace earlier codes, and, in fact, the Deuteronomic law was only made possible by Josiah's reformation in 621, and is to be regarded as the outcome rather than the cause of that event. The connexion of Josiah's reformation with the discovery of the 'Book of the Law' is due to the writer of the chapters in 2 Kings xxii.-xxiii., and no doubt 'the writer (or writers) of these chapters was [himself] acquainted with Deuteronomy, and . . . supposed Josiah to have been familiar with it also'; but, in fact, Josiah's reformation, which was a 'compromise,' and therefore not approved by the prophet Jeremiah, was aimed at abolishing the immoral adjuncts of worship, as practised at the sanctuaries, and strove to accomplish this by limiting sacrifice to the one sanctuary in Jerusalem. The reform was thus due to

prophetic influence (though it did not go far enough to please the extreme prophetic party), and was not due to the discovery of a Book of the Law at all! Dr. Kennett's arguments have not convinced Old Testament scholars generally, though a notable advance in the direction of putting the composition of Deuteronomy late has been made by the German scholar G. Hölscher in an elaborate article published in the *Zeitschrift für d. Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, May 1923, pp. 161 ff., entitled *Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums*. Recent criticism, however, has made clear that secondary elements are present in the text of the Book, as we have it, to a larger extent than was formerly supposed. In other words, the original form of the Book must have been substantially different from its present form. See further, Professor A. C. Welch's article in the *Expositor* for May 1923, on *The Present Position of Old Testament Criticism*.

## II

### The Date and Mission of Ezra (see pp. 89-94).

The usual date assigned to Ezra's mission is *c.* 458 B.C. This is based upon the assumption that the 'king' mentioned in Ezra vii. 8 ('the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king') is to be identified with Artaxerxes I., Longimanus (464-424 B.C.), the seventh year of whose reign would fall about 458 B.C. Nehemiah's mission took place about 445, and the promulgation of the revised Law by Ezra would fall about 444 B.C. But there are grave difficulties involved in this view, which have been increasingly recognised by modern scholars. These have been well summed up by Professor C. F. Kent, who says:—

'If an expedition of the size and importance of the one described in Ezra viii. had gone to Judah only thirteen years before, it is incredible that Nehemiah [in his memoirs] would have made no reference to it, and also have found conditions in Jerusalem as he did. Not one of the ardent reformers mentioned in Ezra viii. is referred to in Nehemiah's detailed record. The leaders of the community, also, instead of being ready to submit to any sacrifice, are even suspicious of the man who comes to help them build their walls. Moreover, after the community had submitted to Ezra's sweeping measures, Nehemiah's mild reforms are meaningless. On the other hand, such an expedition as Ezra is represented as leading back to Judah was a practical

impossibility before Nehemiah had fortified Jerusalem, reorganised the community, and brought the dismembered sections of the Jewish race into sympathetic touch with each other. Likewise his pioneer reforms, enforced by his energy and authority and claim to the gratitude of the Palestinian community, alone make credible the revolutionary changes associated with Ezra and realised in the character of later Judaism. Direct evidence also may be found in Ezra's prayer in Ezra ix., in which he gives thanks that the wall of Jerusalem has been rebuilt and Judah's defences restored (vs. 9). Instead of a defenceless city, he found a strong populous community ready to follow him to any extreme, even if it involved the severance of all relations with foreigners and the rending asunder of their homes (Ezra x.).'

Nehemiah in his second administration discovered the existence of mixed marriages, and with characteristic energy took drastic measures against them. How can such a condition of things have arisen after the wholesale dissolution described in Ezra ix. and following? The reforms attributed to Nehemiah in Neh. xiii. would be very strange *after* Ezra. Can we imagine the Levites driven to work in the fields immediately after Ezra's mission? And how can it possibly have been necessary for Nehemiah to organise the measures referred to in Neh. xiii. for the maintenance of the Temple and its worship if Ezra's work of reform had already taken place?

If Ezra followed Nehemiah, and if he came to Jerusalem in 'the seventh year of the king' (Ezra vii. 8), the king referred to, whose name according to the Aramaic document was Artaxerxes (Ezra vii. 12), can only have been Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), who reigned 404-368 B.C., and whose seventh year would have fallen *c.* 397 B.C. The definite statement about the seventh year (Ezra xii. 8) depends upon the authority of the chronicler alone, and cannot safely be pressed. But we can be reasonably certain that Ezra's activity fell some time within the years 404-368 B.C. This conclusion is confirmed by some other small indications. Thus we are told (Ezra x. 6) that Ezra went into the chamber of Jehohanan (Johanan) the son of Eliashib to spend the night. From a comparison of Neh. xii. 11 and 22, it is clear that this Johanan is identical with Jonathan, the grandson of Eliashib, the latter being a contemporary of Nehemiah. Thus Ezra's activity, in the light of this piece of evidence, falls two generations

later than Eliashib; *i.e.* it falls some time after 400 B.C., in the reign of Artaxerxes II. And again, from the context the phrase 'Nehemiah the governor, and Ezra the priest, the scribe' in Neh. xii. 26 seems clearly to refer to successive periods.

**Ezra's reading of the Law.** This event, which, on the old view of the chronology, took place in *c.* 444 B.C., will, according to the reconstruction sketched above, have to be placed after 400 B.C. (? 397 B.C.). The account of Ezra's reading of the Law is given in Neh. viii. So important did the chronicler consider this that he has repeated the list of the names of the returned exiles (from Ezra ii.) to form an introduction to the story. The actual narrative of the reading is given in Neh. viii. 1-12,[1] and it is doubtful if what immediately follows is to be regarded as the immediate sequel of what precedes. By the 'Law' the chronicler undoubtedly understood the 'Law of Moses,' *i.e.* the Pentateuch; and this is probably right. It has been widely held that the 'Law' published and read by Ezra was the Priestly Code (P). But it is highly doubtful whether P ever was published in a separate form. The *Law of Moses* from which Ezra read was probably a new and enlarged edition of the old *Law of Moses* already familiar to the people. The new element in it was the 'P' element; but this had been skilfully worked into the framework of the old Law-book. In this form it could claim to be the full, complete, and authoritative Law of Moses, as understood by the priestly school of Babylonia, and was, therefore, not something entirely novel and unfamiliar, but merely a larger and more complete edition of something already accepted and revered. Only as such could it have had any chance of being listened to by the conservative community of Palestinians in Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood. The novel element in 'the book of the Law of Moses' which was brought before the assembled people was undoubtedly the 'P' element, and we may presume that it was those portions of the Law which were embodied in P, and were new and unfamiliar, that Ezra read before the people.

[1] In vs. 9 the words *And Nehemiah* (*the governor*), which do not occur in the parallel Esdras text, should be omitted.

The school of priestly writers had been active in Babylonia, and it was from this quarter that the impulse came and derived its strength which gradually led to the adoption by the Jewish community in Palestine of the priestly form of the old religion in its completeness. But this was not accomplished all at once, nor without much heartburning and many protests. Nehemiah, who was a layman, had doubtless come under the influence of this priestly school in Babylonia, and the zeal he displayed in reforming abuses which he found in existence in Judah was, we may suppose, inspired by this influence. But he worked upon the basis not of the amplified law-book of Ezra, which was introduced into Judah later, but of the long accepted Book of Deuteronomy. The little anonymous Book of Malachi probably makes its appeal for a better observance of the Law to the same book; and it is generally admitted that *Malachi* may plausibly be placed either just before or soon after Nehemiah's governorship.[1] Whatever contacts can be discovered between the work of Nehemiah and P can be explained by the hypothesis that he was already familiar with that part of P which had already been codified and probably published in a separate form (long before the rest of P) contained in 'the Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.) in its original form.

## III

### The Date of the Samaritan Schism.

It is still widely assumed that the schism between the Samaritans and Jews took place some time within Nehemiah's second governorship (? *c.* 430 B.C.). At the time when the break took place, the Samaritans and the Jews must have possessed the Pentateuch in much the same form as we now have it; for it is inconceivable that the Samaritans would have adopted from the Jews a new and enlarged edition of the old Mosaic Law-Book some fifty years after the breach had occurred. How, then, can this fact be reconciled with the presumed publication of the enlarged law-book by Ezra after 400 B.C.?

[1] See on this point G. A. Smith, *Book of the XII. Prophets*, ii. 337.

In Neh. xiii. 28 there is a brief enigmatic notice which runs: *And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the High Priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite; therefore I chased him from me.* Now Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7, 2, and 8, 2-7) gives a long and circumstantial account of the origin of the Samaritan Schism, which refers to 'Sanballat the governor of Samaria under Darius III.' who 'gave his daughter Nicaso in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of the High Priest Jaddua.' Protests were made at the marriage, and Sanballat urged his son-in-law to leave Jerusalem, and promised to erect a temple like that at Jerusalem on Mount Gerizim, and to get him formally appointed by King Darius as High Priest. Manasseh consented, a great disturbance arose in Jerusalem, many priests and Levites joining Manasseh and leaving Jerusalem. Sanballat welcomed these deserters and settled them in the province of Samaria. The erection of the Temple followed a few years later, after the overthrow of Darius by Alexander the Great, who allowed the erection of the rival Temple to proceed on Mount Gerizim, and appointed Manasseh to act as High Priest. This account of Josephus (whose chronology is supposed to be wrong) is commonly read into the verse (Neh. xiii. 28) quoted above, and it is inferred that the erection of the Samaritan Temple actually took place about 430 B.C. (or a year or two later). As Dr. Skinner remarks:—[1]

'This is obviously a very unsafe combination. Whatever may have taken place under Nehemiah, the names of Darius and Alexander are too clearly and explicitly associated by Josephus with the building of the Temple to be set aside as unchronological. While there may have been some confusion in the mind of that writer with events of Nehemiah's time, we have no right to transfer his narrative bodily to a date 100 years earlier: and it is reasonable to allow that he was probably well informed in assigning the building of the Samaritan Temple to the early reign of Alexander. If so, we must infer that the final constitution of the Samaritan community on a religious basis, with priesthood and ritual, belongs to that time.'

The Sanballat mentioned by Josephus—if the name is correct—cannot obviously be identical with Sanballat 'the Horonite,' Nehemiah's old enemy. The latter was

[1] *The Divine Names in Genesis*, p. 119.

probably governor of Samaria, as is evident from the mention of him in one of the Elephantine papyri, dated 408 B.C. At that time his functions (as he was an old man) were being exercised by his two sons Delaiah and Shelemaiah. The Sanballat mentioned by Josephus may have been a grandson of the earlier Sanballat, who as Sanballat II. inherited the office of governor (which had been allowed to remain in the family), and was (as Josephus states) an aged man (of over 70) in 335 B.C. (so Torrey).

[A good discussion and reconstruction of the difficult narrative of the chronicler in Ezra-Nehemiah, and the relevant problems, is contained in the Introduction to Batten's Commentary on Ezra-Nehemiah in *I.C.C.*]

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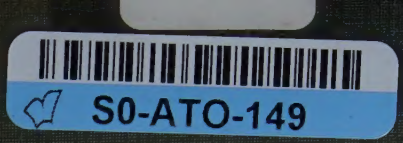
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